★NEW MASSES

MAY 5, 1942
15c
IN CANADA 20c

WE'VE GOT SHIPS for the WESTERN FRONT

by Bruce Minton

Why Hitler Promoted Laval

By Antoine Hebert

Soviet Trade Unions at Work

By Maurice Dobb

Compass for War Economy

FDR's Seven Point Program — By the Editors

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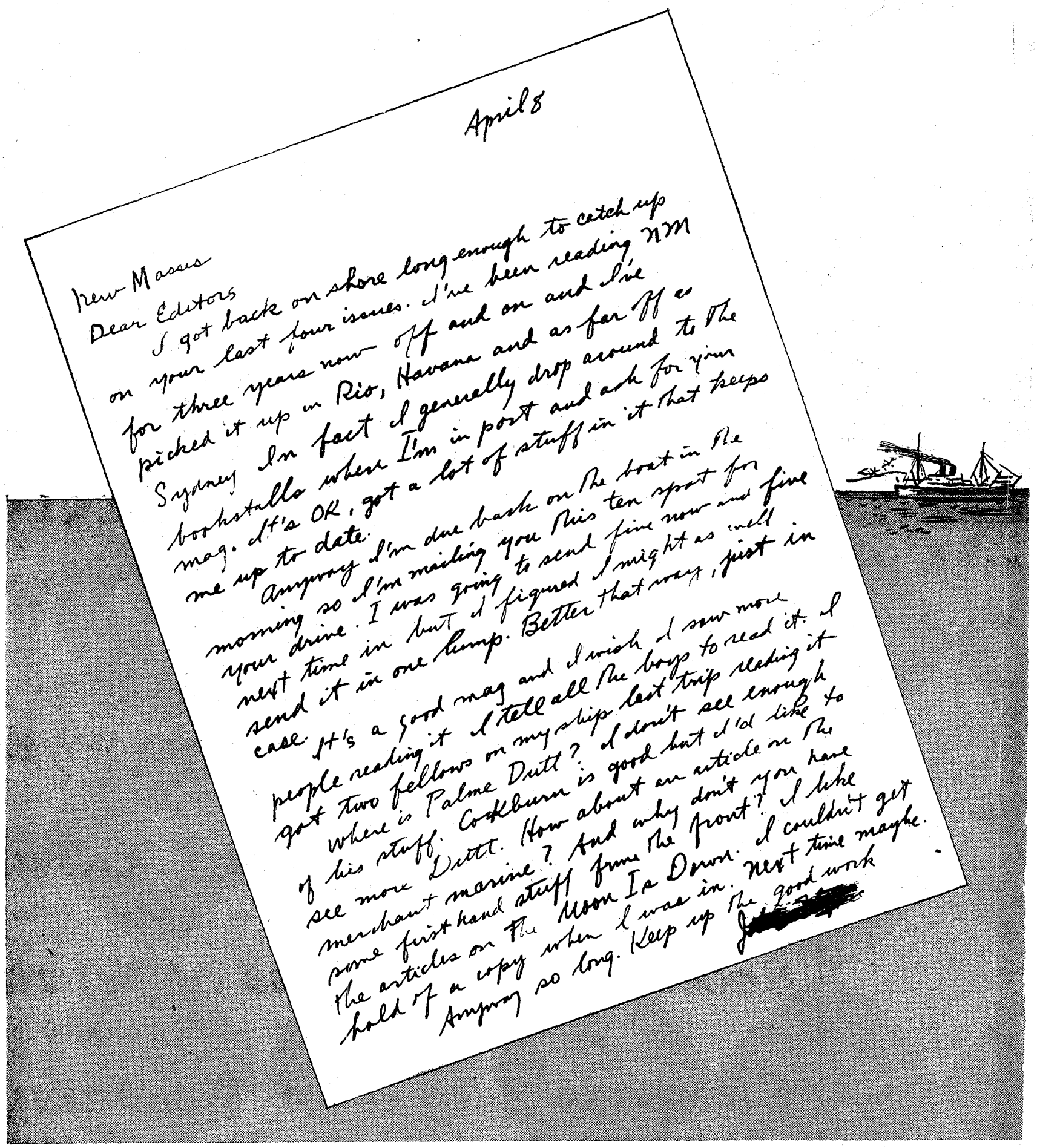
April 8
New Masses
Dear Editors
I got back on shore long enough to catch up
on your last four issues. I've been reading NM
for three years now off and on and I've
picked it up in Rio, Havana and as far off as
Sydney. In fact I generally drop around to the
bookstalls when I'm in port and ask for yinz
mag. It's OK, got a lot of stuff in it that keeps
me up to date.
Anyway I'm due back on the boat in the
morning so I'm mailing you this ten spot for
your drive. I was going to send five now and five
next time in but I figured I might as well
send it in one lump. Better that way, just in
case. It's a good mag and I wish I saw more
people reading it. I tell all the boys to read it. I
got two fellows on my ship last trip reading it
where is Palme Dutt? I don't see enough
of his stuff. Cockburn is good but I'd like to
see more Dutt. How about an article on the
merchant marine? And why don't you have
some first hand stuff from the front? I like
the articles on The Moon Is Down. I couldn't get
hold of a copy when I was in. Next time maybe.
Anyway so long. Keep up the good work
[redacted]

A seaman named John —— sent us this letter. And ten dollars "in a lump sum." "Just in case"—he said. We're humbly proud to get this from a man who faces Hitler's torpedoes in his daily work. Frankly, we hope you share his desire to help NM. It needs your help desperately. So far only $9,500 of the $40,000 we must have has come in—less than a fourth of our needs. We must speed up our campaign—the creditors are threatening drastic action. Do you agree with Sailor John? Then turn to the coupon on Page 26.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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VOLUME XLIII NUMBER 5

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May Day 1942

by the Editors

THIS May Day all of us are like Moses on Mount Nebo: gazing at the promised land. And the promised land for us is victory over the Axis. But the question is—and it is literally one of life and death: will we get there? For if we don't, all of us will descend into a valley of death more horrible than anything mankind has known.

May Day, which got its start in the United States during the struggle for the eight-hour day, is traditionally a holiday of international labor solidarity. It has been associated with downing tools, with demonstrations and parades in behalf of the demands of labor. But this year everything is different. Instead of parading, Joe Worker is grimly on the job, keeping 'em rolling and flying. He stands shoulder to shoulder with his employer and his government in the common fight against Public Enemy Number One, Adolph Hitler, and his gang in Europe and Asia. And today we make the greatest demands on ourselves and on all who share responsibility, that we not merely yearn for victory from afar, but grasp it—this year, within the next weeks and months.

Solidarity is a grand word. And what solidarity we need now! Not of labor alone, but of all classes and all nations that wage this war of liberation. We have made great progress toward that kind of unity, but there are still gaps both within the country and in our relations with our allies. And every such gap means an opening for the Nazi-Japanese mob in their effort to prevent that decisive action which would spell their doom.

A groundswell of sentiment is rising both in this country and in England for the opening of a Western Front this spring and summer. The call for a Western Front in the first agonizing months of the Nazi invasion of Russia was defensive, designed to save Moscow and Leningrad, to prevent Hitler from cracking the military power of Russia, which would have been a major disaster for all the United Nations. Today, however, the demand for an invasion of Europe springs from an offensive mood, from the feeling of millions of people that the Red Army has done such a splendid job that the Nazi military machine is not only bogged down, but seriously weakened, and that now is the time to strike a death blow to Nazi Germany, the heart of the Axis.

Lord Beaverbrook is the latest to speak up—and it is all the more impressive coming from so authoritative a source—and declare that the Western Front is immediately feasible and necessary. In his address before the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association he said: "I believe in the Russian system which holds to the faith that the best form of defense is attack. And I believe that Britain should adopt it by setting up somewhere along the two thousand miles of coastline now held by the Germans a second front in western Europe. . . . This is a chance, an opportunity to bring the war to an end here and now." And Lord Beaverbrook testified further: "How admirably Britain is now equipped in weapons of war for directing such an attack on Germany, I well know." In addition, Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board, told the Truman committee the other day that our war production was now neck and neck with the Axis production and would soon match the accumulated reserves of Germany and Japan.

With 2,000,000 trained men, plus thousands of American soldiers in Britain, there is no lack of forces to do the job. And as for transportation, as Colonel T. pointed out in our last issue, if Britain was able to find the shipping to take 300,000 men out of France at Dunkirk, with the larger part of the German army pursuing them, it should not be an impossible task to find the shipping for a Dunkirk in reverse under far more favorable conditions.

It seems to us that the factors which stand in the way of an invasion of Europe—where, incidentally, the conquered peoples would prove invaluable allies—are not military, but political and strategic. There is still no unified command and no unified strategy of all the nations that are fighting this global war. Ralph Ingersoll asks in *PM:* "Why isn't it an American-Russo-Anglo-Chinese War Council in Washington—instead of simply an 'Anglo-American-plus-Allies' council?" And there still is no complete alliance among the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. There is also a question whether the proper authorities in the United States and England have fully recognized that while every effort must be made to develop offensive tactics in the Pacific and in Asia, it is in Europe that the major decision in this war will be reached, it is in Europe that the heaviest blows can be dealt to the Axis as a whole, it is in Europe that the offensive can be launched *now,* whereas it will take months before sufficient men and material can be accumulated in the Far East for a full-scale offensive against Japan.

Now let us take a look at some of the political factors that hinder the unleashing of the offensive in Europe. There is the ingrained conservatism of certain individuals whose prejudices yield only slowly to facts. They sincerely want victory over the Axis, but they hope to get it by playing safe, by fighting defensively and waiting till 1943 and 1944, ignoring the fact that Hitler has no intention of waiting. Hanson W. Baldwin, for example—and he undoubtedly speaks for others too—writes in the New York *Times* of April 23 that an air offensive in western Europe and nothing but that is "the most important single offensive effort that the United Nations can make today or in the immediate future." Major George Fielding Eliot, on the other hand, who only a short time ago might have been disposed to agree with Baldwin, wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* the same day: "There are now considerable numbers of thoroughly trained and equipped troops in the British Isles which, given sufficient shipping, could certainly conduct a strong offensive against any one of several points in western Europe."

(Continued on page 19)

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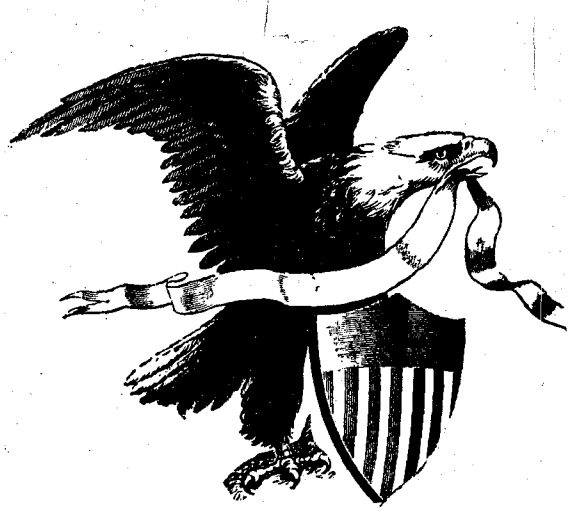
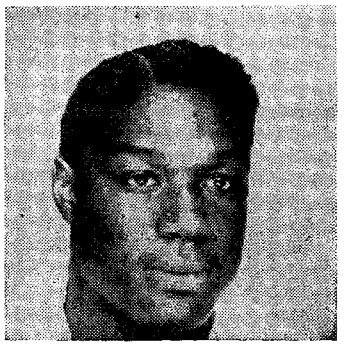
HONOR MAY 1,



GEN. DOUGLAS MacARTHUR. No picture-caption can begin to describe the commander of the already historic Battle of the Philippines. The story of MacArthur's heroic leadership is as familiar to Americans, and to our allies as the story of Jackson at New Orleans. And the tale is far from ended. For MacArthur, as commander of the United Nations forces in the southwest Pacific, continues the generalship he exhibited so brilliantly at Bataan.

DORIE MILLER. A messman in the Navy, Miller had never touched a machine gun until the attack on Pearl Harbor. Then he manned two of them, under enemy fire. His heroism brought a citation from the Navy Department. Dorie is the son of Negro sharecroppers from Texas. Until recently Negroes could hold no higher rank than messman in the US Navy. Now they can enlist in the ranks and as non-commissioned officers, but racial discrimination still forbids them the full opportunity they seek to beat the Axis.



LIEUT. HELEN HENNESSEY. One of the three commanders of the Bataan nursing corps. Working under nearly impossible handicaps, these women tended hundreds of wounded a day. One of their two hospitals was bombed twice, with more than 100 killed and wounded. There were no serums, no X-ray, and no adequately equipped operating rooms. The women soon discarded their white uniforms for khaki, air corps overalls, and heavy Army shoes.

CAPT. JESUS VILLAMOR. Typical of the thousands of Filipino fighters who have performed extraordinary feats of heroism, Captain Villamor holds the Distinguished Service Cross. Three days after Pearl Harbor he led a flight of pursuit planes into action, in the face of heavy fire from the Japanese planes, and routed the enemy attackers. Just two days later he led six planes against fifty-four Japanese bombers and effectively damaged the latter's formation.

JIMMY CAPIELLO. He and his fellow workers at the Seattle-Tacoma Shipbuilding Corp. received the Navy's "E" pennant for having completed the Destroyer *Richard Doyle* five weeks ahead of schedule, with the close cooperation of the employers. Capiello is shown here addressing the workers, who elected him to represent them at the ceremony when Rear Adm. S. C. Freeman presented the award. They are members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers.

HAROLD F. DIXON. Here is the commander of the "three men on a raft" who survived thirty-four days adrift in the ocean. Dixon's companions were Anthony J. Pastula and Gene D. Aldrich.

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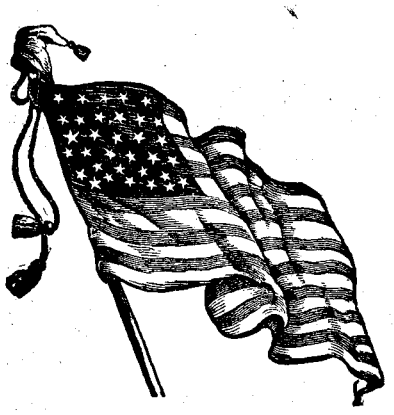


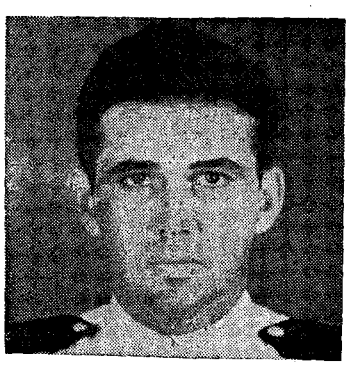
ROLL 1942

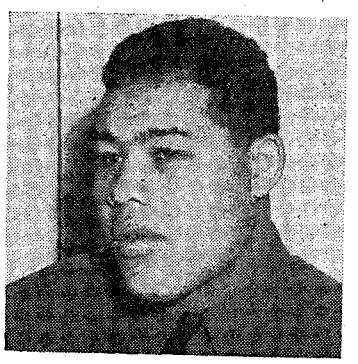
MRS. COLIN KELLY, JR. The wife of Capt. Colin Kelly, Jr., one of the first American heroes of this war, is brave also—too brave for tears when her husband lost his life in the remarkable exploit of sinking the 29,000-ton Japanese battleship *Haruna*. She "only hoped that Colin knew before he died that he had sunk that ship." Her pride in him and her patriotism sustained her courage in time of deep personal tragedy.

LIEUT. BOYD WAGNER. "Buzz" Wagner is the first American ace of this war. In the first two weeks of the Pacific conflict he had shot down five Japanese planes. He also led a squadron in an attack that destroyed twenty-five planes on the ground. Wagner is from Johnstown, Pa., the son of an electrician in the local coal mine. He has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his exploits.

BILL CAVES. Was bos'n on a tanker when it was sunk by torpedoes a few weeks ago. Caves and four others on the ship had to run through a wall of fire to launch their lifeboat, then had to pull away fast from the flames on the water seventy-five feet high. His face and hands were badly burned, but he's shipping out again as soon as possible in line with the National Maritime Union slogan, "Keep 'em Sailing." Caves himself has been sailing for twenty-seven years, the last ten on tankers.

ROSE WALKER. This plastic-masked woman used to be an office worker. Now she operates a lathe on a nut line, at the Curtiss-Wright Corp.'s propellor plant. Rose is as expert as any man machinist. She is one of many American women who are taking their place in production, side by side with the men. In thousands of war plants throughout the country women are playing a historic role in turning out the material to lick the Axis.





LIEUT.-COMMANDER EDWARD H. O'HARE. Decorated by the President for bravery. This fighter pilot of the US Navy shot down six Japanese planes during an attack on the Pacific Fleet.

JOE LOUIS. Since January 12 he has been Private Joe Louis of the US Army. When the heavyweight champion boxes these days it's to raise funds for the boys in the armed services. In the past four months he has turned over two prizefight purses, totaling more than $100,000, to the Army and Navy funds. Joe acts on the conviction that "There's a lot wrong with this country, but Hitler ain't going to fix it."

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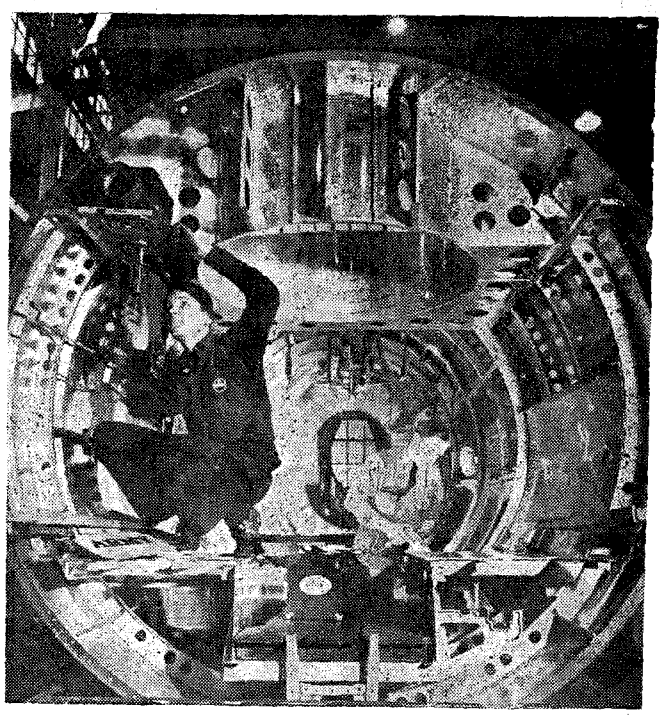
HOW SOVIET TRADE UNIONS WORK



It is important to know, writes Maurice Dobb, famous British economist, "to bring about closer cooperation" between the unionists of all anti-Hitler nations. How 23,000,000 are organized.

THE trade union movement in Russia is virtually a product of the Revolution against czardom in 1917. Previously unions had existed, but only as illegal bodies, harried by the police as well as by the employers, so that there was little chance of large scale and continuous organization. Ever since the 1870's, trade union organizations, and from time to time *ad hoc* strike committees, had caried on a heroic underground existence. The czarist police retaliated, both by arrests and deportations, and for a brief period in the early part of this century by attempts to form police-controlled workingmen's associations—what in America would be termed "yellow unions."

In the revolutionary year of 1905, with its forward surge of working class forces, there was a mushroom growth of trade unions. Trades Councils were formed in the larger towns, and a National Conference of Trade Unions was held in Moscow. It was even reported that by 1907 the number of unions had reached the figure of 650, with a total membership of 250,000. But more than half of these were very small local bodies; no more than a score or two had a membership running into four figures; and in the years of reaction that followed the majority of them disappeared; their funds were confiscated and their organizers arrested and exiled.

After the overthrow of czardom, however, in 1917, there was a rapid development of trade unionism. Within a few months membership grew from a few tens of thousands to 1,500,000. By November, when the Soviet Republic was set up, it had passed the 2,000,000 mark. For a country in which the number of factory workers did not exceed 2,500,000, this was a large number of trade unionists.

Parallel with trade union organization went the growth of factory committees, which played a significant part in the revolutionary events of this year; and one of the first acts of the Soviet government, through its Decree on Workers' Control, was to give considerable powers of control to these committees in the running of factories. This was of great importance in view of the tendency of capitalist owners, after the formation of the Soviet government, to sabotage production and even to close down their factories altogether; and in combating these attempts, the factory committees played an important role.

With the taking over of industry, transport, and distribution by the state, which occurred very rapidly in the summer of 1918 onward under the stress of counter-revolution and civil war, the factory committees were merged into the trade union structure. They became, in fact, the lower units of trade union organization, with the factory meeting of union members as the basic unit of a trade union (equivalent to a branch). At the same time the number of unionists advanced by leaps and bounds, spreading beyond the factories to railways, stores, agriculture, etc. By the end of 1920 (the close of the war period) it stood at 8,000,000, or as large as the total membership of British trade unions at that date.

In these years there was a good deal of discussion concerning the proper role of trade unions in the new situation. The first Trade Union Congress in 1918 had inclined toward the view that trade unions should become organs of the Soviet state, the Congress resolution stating that "in the course of their development the trade unions will inevitably become organs of socialist government, participation in which will be obligatory for all persons engaged in industry."

At the second Trade Union Congress the following year, however, Lenin spoke vigorously against this tendency. He declared that the trade unions should not become state organs; and that while they should "cooperate with the Soviet authorities" and even "perform certain of the functions at present discharged by the Soviets," it was important that they should remain independent as democratic mass organizations of the working class.

The issue came to a head in the discussions at the end of the civil war period, which led to the so-called New Economic Policy. On the one hand, Trotsky wished for the virtual militarization of the unions, substituting appointment from above for election from below, and their conversion into units of a labor army, or labor corps. On the other hand, there was a syndicalist tendency which advocated the placing of the management of industry entirely in the hands of the unions.

THE policy, known as "The Platform of the Ten" (the report of a trade union commission of the Communist Party, which included Lenin and Stalin, and on which Trotsky had refused to serve), which was officially adopted, advocated an independent role for trade unions as voluntary and democratic bodies, subject to election and the right of recall of officials. Their main function was to be to represent the interests of their members in all matters of wages and working conditions. At the same time, it was to be part of their function to cooperate with the organs of the state in the running of industry; which meant that they must assume a share of positive responsibility for the efficient organization of production. To this end they were given rights of joint control in industrial administration and novel and impor-

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Union brothers—and sisters—of the Allies. At left: Americans building a bomber. Center: Britons finish a tank. Right: Russians considering a plan to step up production. "How about closer cooperation?" all of them say.

tant powers in connection with working conditions.

With regard to the function of Soviet trade unions in wartime, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* has recently spoken as follows: "Trade unions must first of all strive to achieve the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of all industrial tasks, to popularize widely the most advanced technique so as to bring it within the knowledge of the broadest sections of the people. They must give every possible support and assistance to workers who put forward inventions or proposals for rationalization. . . . They must give assistance to the managers of factories and undertakings in their work of reorganizing industry on a war footing. . . . The foundation of our industrial success has always been inflexible labor discipline. In wartime it is necessary to strengthen this still further."

Thus in no uncertain terms do Soviet trade unionists view the tasks of trade unions on the production front in the life-and-death struggle against fascism.

The legal position of Soviet trade unions was clearly defined in the Labor Code of 1922. A trade union does not have to register with the government to acquire a legal status (as is the case with other societies and organizations in the USSR), but has to be accepted for affiliation by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Once this has been done, it has a right to certain preferential treatment from government bodies, as, for example, in the allotment of premises at low rents, transport facilities, etc. "Unrestricted rights of entry to all workshops, departments, laboratories, etc.," are guaranteed to trade union representatives; and at the special sessions of the People's Courts (parallel to the local bench in England) which deal with labor matters, one of the three members of the Court must be a trade union representative.

Trade union membership was to be voluntary and not compulsory (i.e., it was not to be made a condition of employment). At the same time, it was quite open to a union to make an agreement with the management to give *preference* in employment to union members.

It was also provided that membership was to be open to any employed person: this included the technical staff but not any person "personally possessing the right to engage or dismiss," and not persons who belonged to a cooperative productive unit. A number of matters, such as overtime, factory rules, and disciplinary fines (arbitrary fines being forbidden), the fixing of output standards for piece rate and bonus payments, were listed as being subject to trade union control jointly with the management. Further, the trade union had to be notified of all dismissals of workers some time in advance, and the union was given a right of appeal against the management's decision if it had grounds for objection.

The Labor Code also defined the factory committee as the executive body of the basic unit of trade union organization. These bodies have an importance in the USSR quite without parallel in other countries. In the first place, the code stated that the management must provide a room in the building for the use of the committee, and defray all legitimate expenses (including the wages of full-time members of the factory committee), and must give the committee "free access to all persons on the business of the committee." Further, committee members cannot be dismissed by the management, save for offenses against labor discipline, and then only in consultation with the trade union.

The duties of a factory committee were thus defined by the code:

"It shall safeguard the interests of the wage-earning and salaried employes in relation to the management with respect to all matters connected with the employment and working conditions of employes. . . . It shall see that the legal provisions regarding the protection of workers, social insurance, wage payment, health and accident prevention, etc., are faithfully carried out by the management, and shall cooperate with the state authority concerned with the protection of workers. . . . It shall cooperate in the prompt fulfillment of production plans in state undertakings and participate in the control and organization of economic activities."

Factory committees are elected annually (by ballot) by the union members in a factory (or other place of work), and the elections are valid only if two-thirds or more of the membership are present at the election meeting. Moreover, one-third of the membership can call for a new election at any time. In large establishments there are often shop committees or even shift committees. It is usual also for an Audit and Control Committee to be appointed to check and report upon the work of the factory committee itself in the course of the year. The factory committee generally has a number of sub-committees to handle special aspects of its work: for example, a social insurance council, a labor protection commission (to deal with safety measures), a production committee, a wages commission, and a cultural committee. It is interesting to note that over a quarter of the members of factory committees are women.

A CRUCIAL difference between the conditions under which Soviet trade unions work and those in other countries is that the former carry out their functions in a socialist system, where industry is owned and run by the state and not by individual capitalists. Wages and salaries have the whole share of whatever fund of consumable goods is produced (i.e., there is no class of property owners or profit

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receivers demanding their slice of the cake).

As Mr. and Mrs. Webb have put it: "The Soviet trade union is not formed to fight anybody. . . . The pecuniary interest of its members is found in the productivity of Soviet industry in general . . . and it is the aggregate productivity, not anybody's profits, on which the standard wage rates of all of them will directly depend." (*Soviet Communism,* p. 173.)

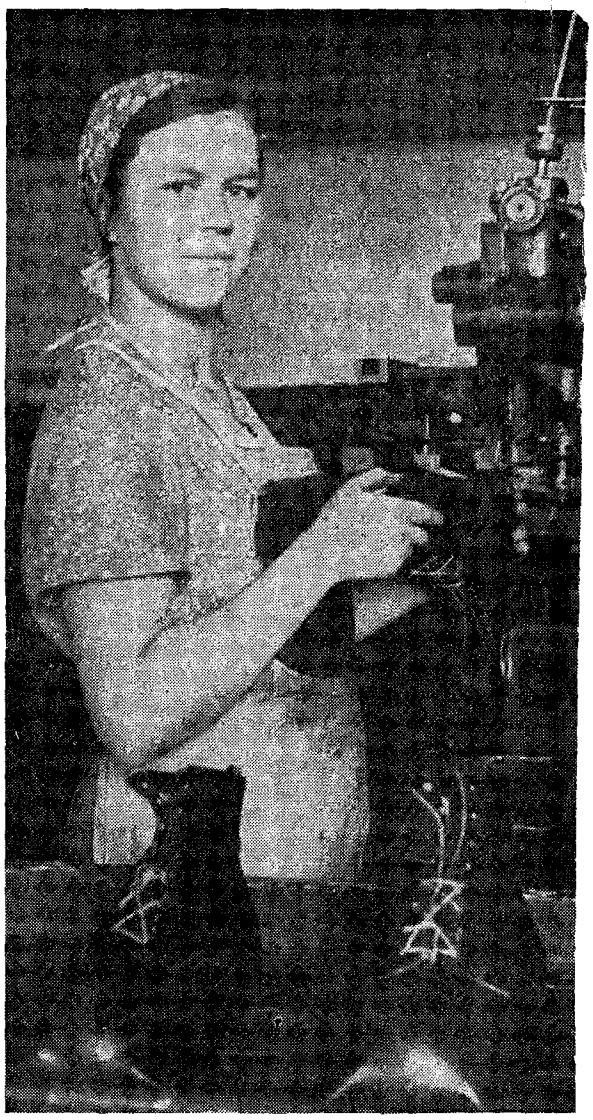
It is for this reason that Soviet trade unions (especially since the First Five Year Plan) place equal emphasis on positive cooperation to improve efficiency and productivity and on the improvement of the standard of life of their members. It also means that wage policy is not a matter of a struggle between profits and wages, capital and labor, but is a matter of trade union cooperation in drawing up the economic plan of socialist industry, which necessarily includes the general wage policy for the coming period as a crucial item in the plan. Here, in the discussion and preparation of the economic plan, the Soviet trade unions play a very important role.

But, in addition to this, once the wage policy for the year has been agreed upon in its general terms, the trade unions are charged with the further job of making collective agreements with the managing bodies of their respective industries concerning the detailed application of wage policy to the conditions of each industry. Nowadays, this collective agreement is made both by the union with the managing boards of an industry nationally (or regionally), and also by each factory committee with the management of each enterprise.

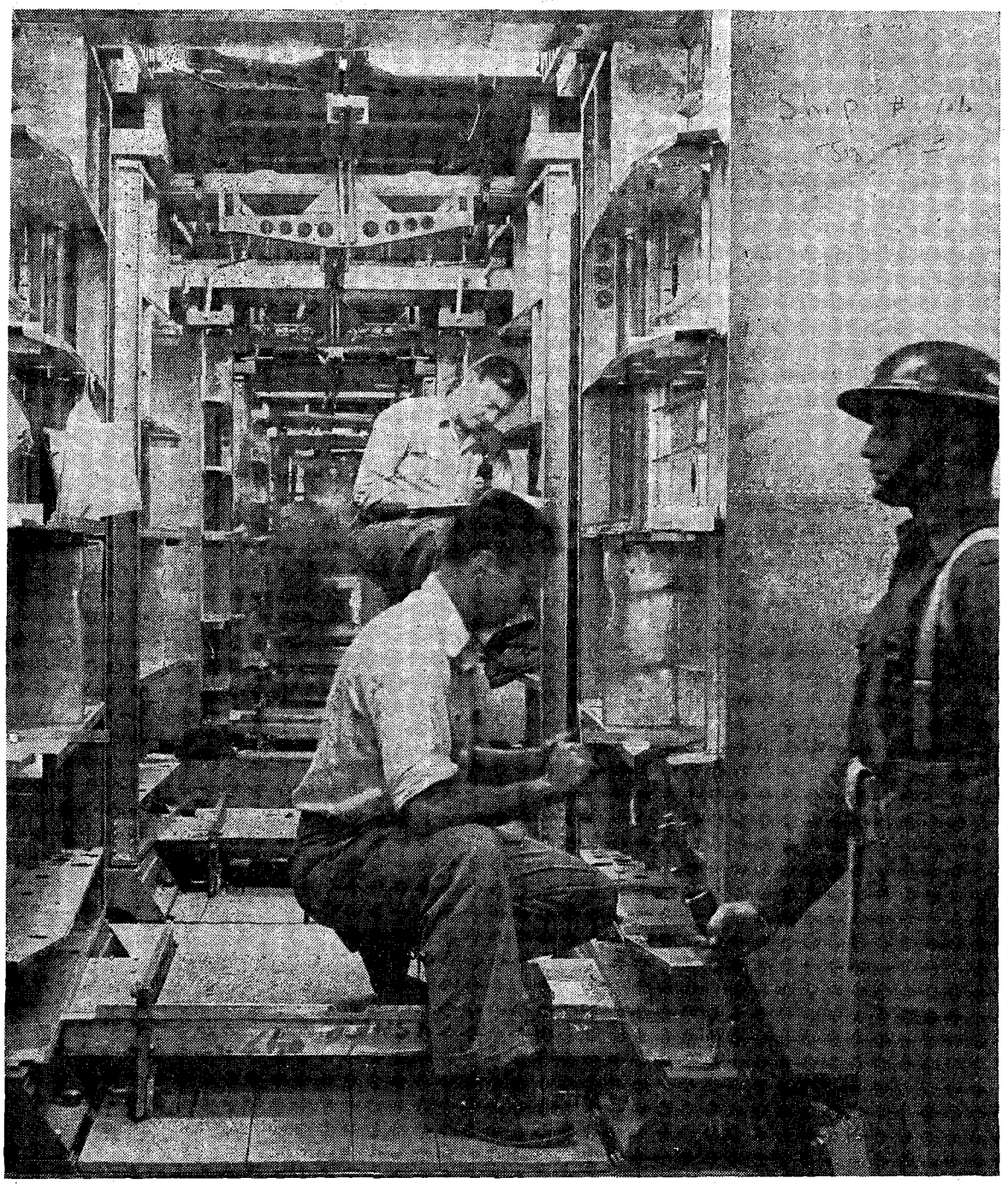
These collective agreements deal with such things as the following: the time rates paid to various categories of workers, the normal relationship between earnings of time workers and piece workers, the categories of workers to be paid at piece rates, and the obligation of the management to accompany any issue of work to piece workers with written particulars.

In some agreements it is laid down that overtime work is permitted only with the express permission both of a body known as the Workers' Control Commission in the factory and of the workers' inspectors; that "in cases where there is enough work for a worker in his own grade, but he has, as an exception, been given urgent work of a lower grade, he has no right to refuse it, but wages in such cases are paid according to the workers' (original) category"; that when a piece worker has increased his output owing to improvements introduced on his own initiative, he is entitled, not only to a premium for the invention, but also to be paid at the old piece rate for three months before the basis of the piece rate or the standard output quota is revised.

It is generally provided that the management shall inform the factory committee of all new engagements of workers and give



Taking her Brother's Place. Antonina Sontzena's machine produces 850 pairs of shoes daily instead of 600 pairs according to quota.



US Industry Goes to War. An American soldier guarding a crucial war factory where output has increased through employer-employe production councils. Ships are carrying these products to our Russian front.

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them an opportunity to "lodge any reasonable objection," shall provide training facilities and improver courses, canteen facilities, washing and locker accommodation, and spend specific funds on a club, sports field, workers' housing, etc., in consultation with the factory committee.

In turn, the factory committee undertakes to inquire into the causes of absences, to take measures to enforce labor discipline; to combat bad timekeeping, spoiled work and theft, to ensure the efficient control of safety measures and welfare measures, and to call periodic conferences of the workers to mobilize initiative for the efficient fulfillment of the production plan.

Fairly elaborate machinery exists for dealing with any disputes or grievances that may arise, whether in the detailed interpretation of a collective agreement, on some matter of principle, or in the negotiation of a new agreement.

The individual worker in a factory has the right of appeal either to the special disputes committee of his factory, composed of representatives of the factory committee and the management, or to the special labor sessions of the local people's court. If the complaint concerns an alleged breach of the Labor Law by the management, only the latter body is competent to handle the case. Disputes to which the trade union itself is a party can be handled by an *ad hoc* conciliation board (if both parties agree so to refer it), composed of representatives of the trade union and the managing body, with a third-party chairman.

Finally, there are arbitration boards, consisting again of a representative of the trade union and of the management, with a third-party chairman, but with full powers to reach a decision and make it binding.

SOVIET trade unions are organized on an industrial basis, all workers in an industry, technical and clerical staffs, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled belonging to the same union, and joining in the election of the factory committee (or place or site committee as it is called, in the case of workers in a government office or institute, in a transport depot, or on a building job).

In all there are more than 160 unions in the whole country, with a total membership of some twenty-two to twenty-three millions, or eighty-five percent of all employed persons. This figure is the largest, both absolutely and as a proportion of employed persons, of any country in the world.

Election by secret ballot is today the rule for all trade union offices, and all trade union officials are liable to recall at the demand of a substantial portion of the membership they represent.

Each union at annual regional congresses elects a regional committee; and at biennial congresses of the whole union elects its national committee and officers.

At the summit of the trade union structure is the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which is elected at biennial trade union congresses of all industries from the whole country, consisting of between 1,000 and 2,000 delegates drawn from the *regional* congresses of the various industrial unions.

This Central Council has certain powers of centralized control over the trade union world: it has powers, for example, to define the frontiers between unions, to settle inter-union demarcation disputes, and to settle with the state planning authorities, on behalf of the trade union world (and after consultation with separate unions), the wage policy for the year, including the general relationships to be observed between wages in different industries.

During the last ten years the Soviet trade unions have taken over the administration of the two important spheres which came previously within the province of a state department. In 1933 the Commissariat of Labor was disbanded and its principal functions were transferred to the Central Council of Trade Unions. Chief among these functions were factory inspection and social insurance. Today, therefore, the appointment of factory inspectors and the enforcement of labor legislation is the direct responsibility of the trade unions.

While health insurance is controlled by the Commissariat of Health and old age and disability pensions by the Commissariat for Social Assistance, the largest sphere of social insurance, covering maternity benefit, partial disablement and superannuation benefit, children's allowances, maintenance of sanitariums and rest homes, mutual aid loan funds, etc., is now controlled by the trade unions. These benefits are administered by the insurance sub-committees of the factory committees and financed by a tax on all enterprises. This insurance covers all physical risks, and not only those incurred in the course of employment. Non-unionists are eligible for benefit, but at lower rates than those payable to union members; and benefits are now graded according to the length of time that a worker has been employed in the particular enterprise where he works.

Knowledge about Soviet trade unions is important today, not only to understand what is happening in the USSR, but in order to bring about a closer cooperation between the trade union movements of all democratic countries.

If the alliance between the peoples of the USSR and of Britain is to be cemented into an enduring concord, a close relationship must be established between British and Soviet trade unions. In the middle twenties, in the years before the General Strike, there was the beginning of such a link; and for a time there existed a body called the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council. If that movement had developed, the history of the past ten years might have been written differently.

Today it is even more urgent that some such tangible move toward closer affiliation should again be made: urgent if we are to open a common front against fascism, to solve alike the problem of production and of military cooperation, and to lay the foundations of an enduring people's peace when victory is won.

The recent decision of the Trades Union Congress to set up an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee is a welcome step in this direction. Let us hope that this is no formal gesture, but will prove to be the beginning of real cooperation between the trade unions of Britain and the USSR.

MAURICE DOBB.

Brothers in Arms

LIFE magazine recently ran a feature story entitled "England Falls in Love with Russia." It was an exciting picture of how the Anglo-Soviet alliance of last July has flowered into the real and passionate rapprochement of peoples as well as governments. For example, there's been a whirlwind of interest in the Russian language in Britain. A while ago, the London County Council, corresponding to our municipal government, dedicated a plaque at the bombed-out house where Lenin lived forty years ago. At Highgate Cemetery these days, Karl Marx' grave no longer lacks for flowers. A week ago a new school for the study of Soviet life was founded in London, of which, incidentally, Dr. Maurice Dobb, author of our article, will be the director.

Most significant of all, British and Soviet trade unionists are working together. An Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council has been set up, under the leadership of Sir Walter Citrine of the British Trades Union Council. Under these auspices, a delegation of Soviet unionists, leaders and rank-and-filers, recently visited Britain's tank and aircraft plants. They were impressed with Britain's production achievements. They made sensible proposals for doing still better, and their visit was hailed both by workers and employers.

And now comes a growing awareness in American labor circles of what Americans can do to match their British and Soviet brothers. Proposals are being made for "working relations" between American trade unionists and the Anglo-Soviet committee. The CIO Industrial Union Council of New Jersey broke the ice some weeks ago. The suggestion was seconded by the Industrial Union Council of New York and followed up in Minnesota. Hardly a week passes now but what some local body, like the Vermilion County CIO Council in Illinois last week, picks up the call.

American labor in the past has hesitated to join with the unionists of other lands. Except for cooperation with the International Labor Office, there hasn't been enough realization of what international labor action could accomplish. But the time has come for standing together with our British and Soviet unionists: this would strengthen the backbone of the war; it would make for more thorough-going united efforts; it would help coordinate the strategy of the United Nations for opening a second front on the continent and winning the war this year.

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SHIPS for a SECOND FRONT

If non-essential runs and unnecessary cargoes were eliminated, enough craft could be assembled "even within a fortnight." What the CIO Maritime Commission feels. Admiral Land and Joseph P. Ryan.

Washington.

THE creation of a second front against Hitler is a life and death matter. Not long ago Prime Minister Churchill stated that weapons are at hand and manpower has been mobilized and trained. But, he added, the bottleneck of insufficient shipping holds back the Allies. In Washington it is recognized that shipping is one of the greatest impediments to launching an offensive.

According to the CIO Maritime Committee in Washington, the required shipping is available, manned with experienced seamen, if ships now wasted on non-essential runs and loaded with cargoes which could be eliminated, were devoted solely to advancing the war effort. The merchant fleet could be gathered in sufficient quantity to supply a second front in Europe even within a fortnight—not without great strain, of course, and not without the most determined resolve to sacrifice any consideration interfering with an offensive. But shipping will be so coordinated only if the American people *insist*.

Three factors hamper shipping at this crucial moment:

Every available craft is not utilized to the full measure.

Organization at home ports for loading and unloading cargo vessels is inefficient.

Craft now in service and the crews that man these boats lack proper protection.

No excuse can be tolerated for failure to strike the blows against the Axis which will bring victory in 1942. Current lags in shipping *can* be overcome, if the facts, however ugly and unwelcome, are understood in their full implications—and steps taken immediately to rectify shortcomings.

Ships must be utilized in the most efficient manner. Shipping must become an integral part of the national war effort.

The distribution of American shipping is by no means an easy problem. But today one idea is axiomatic: no boat dare be wasted. Every craft that can possibly be put into the Atlantic service should be so employed. Shipping to Europe, to our Allies, and to a second front, must be continuous and adequate. And whenever ships are put on inessential runs, or allowed to idle, the war effort suffers and victory is postponed.

I do not know all the intricacies of shipping distribution. I do know the problems are complex. I also know that today ships are used for purposes which cannot be condoned. The examples are legion. I list a few of the more glaring abuses:

1. Ships now carry vegetable products to Hawaii and Puerto Rico. These products could be grown on the islands if the land were converted to the cultivation of foodstuffs. Because a few selfish companies are reluctant to change crops, precious cargo space is taken up with food products which, according to authorities, could be grown on the islands without interfering with the production of sugar or pineapples.

2. Cuba produces molasses, from which sugar and industrial alcohol are obtained. Today, tankers (of which there is the most severe shortage), bring molasses to America for reduction into alcohol. Because certain alcohol interests profit more by reducing molasses than they do from the manufacture of grain alcohol, they refuse to distill greater quantities of alcohol from surplus grain. The US Industrial Alcohol Co. (a private concern despite the name) prefers to waste cargo space on molasses. Moreover, the company will not import alcohol from Cuba, again because of profits. Yet alcohol requires thirty percent less tanker space than molasses.

The head of the alcohol branch in WPB, Fraser Moffet, former official of the US Industrial Alcohol Co., has not insisted on the production of grain alcohol in this country, or on the importation of Cuban alcohol instead of molasses. He has the power to see that these steps are taken.

3. Even now, American ships transport cargoes to the French West Indies. I don't know if cargoes shipped in American boats are thereupon trans-shipped to Vichy France or North French Africa. But French boats ply back and forth regularly to the islands and carry huge cargoes to the Petain-Laval countries. Moreover, appeasers in the State Department are still (even as I write this) searching for a "formula" to keep Petain-Laval France "friendly" and "neutral." Up to now, the State Department's appeasement policies have sanctioned shipments of American supplies direct to France. It is therefore highly improbable that too much concern is shown over the likelihood that material finds its way to Vichy ports (and of course, from there to the Axis) via trans-shipment at the French West Indies. However, as things stand, it seems quite unnecessary to divert boats to supply enemy bases in the Caribbean at a time when those boats could be used to greater advantage for direct war purposes.

4. Army cargo vessels carrying material to Alaska from the Pacific Coast often return empty because these vessels are permitted to carry only cargoes destined for army use. The same holds true of boats operated by the navy. When the armed services have no immediate need for their ships because of delayed cargo or some such reason, these ships sit idly in port. Yet every possible vessel is needed *now*—jurisdictional intricacies are certainly no excuse for wasting facilities.

5. Gasoline and oil require tankers for shipment. The other day I took my child to an amusement park. He rode in a little motor boat—there were a dozen or so boats running all day and using gasoline. This is a completely trivial example. But

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Spring House Cleaning

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gasoline is wasted—and the recent rationing order doesn't plug all the leaks, though it is better than nothing. Gasoline wasted means tanker space wasted; and every tanker is crucial to the war effort. If labor were granted representation on the gasoline rationing board, stricter supervision would result. But up to now labor has been ignored.

6. On April 15, 1942, five Dutch, four Jugoslav, one Greek, one Swedish, one American, and three Panamanian boats were tied to the New York docks, unable to sail because they could not obtain crews. Their idleness cost the nation 218 ship days in one port alone, during the first half of April. A peacetime order ruled that only Greek sailors can man Greek ships, only Dutch sailors can man Dutch ships. There are plenty of seamen today—if they could be put on any boat regardless of registry or nationality. The National Maritime Union proposed that idle seamen be allowed to ship out on any seaworthy ship ready to sail. A standard wage rate could be set for all United Nations ships to prevent difficulties on that score. So far the NMU plan has been disregarded.

Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, remarked: "There is a lot of foolish talk about not enough seamen. We can guarantee a surplus of trained, reliable seamen tomorrow if the authorities would let us, if they would listen to the union's very simple and logical plans to cut through artificial barriers. But we haven't got to first base. The shipping administration turns a deaf ear to our suggestions—even if the war effort is at stake."

Adm. Emory S. Land, the head of the War Shipping Administration, smiles sadly and shrugs. He argues that he has instituted a training plan for seamen. True enough. The graduates are not too skillful (many have drowned because of their tragic ignorance). Their training stresses painting and keeping decks clean—but is inadequate when it comes to instruction in practical seamanship.

7. Often crews are hired by shipping companies two weeks before sailing time. Crews have been kept on while ships lie in drydock for weeks at a stretch. Yet other boats, loaded and ready to sail, can't leave port because no seamen are available.

Once again the NMU has proposed a solution. All hiring should be regularized—in the sense that seamen should be put on ships not longer than two days before departure. The first ship ready to go should receive the first crew ready to hire. As it is today, a man can remain on a ship in port for ten days and then suddenly decide to quit. The NMU warns that this procedure increases chances of espionage and sabotage. It warns that advance hiring encourages companies like Standard Oil to hoard seamen to the detriment of shipping as a whole.

This particular NMU plan, like all others offered by the union, has not been acted upon. Authorities in Washington can't make up their minds.

8. Finally, the attempt to rob seamen of collective bargaining rights has not enhanced efficiency. Men like Ralph A. Bard, former member of the Crusaders, occupy important posts and undermine morale—if nothing more. Mr. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, blacklisted so many licensed radio operators because of union affiliation that ten ships were tied up in New York last month because they lacked operators (as I wrote in NEW MASSES, April 7). Rhea Whitley, former counsel of the Dies committee, now an official of Naval Intelligence, has been consistently hostile to organized labor; skilled workmen have lost jobs because of Mr. Whitley's oversensitive "suspicions." Yet Mr. Whitley, who questioned George Deatherage for the Dies committee several years ago, showed no distrust of that self-admitted fascist when he was in charge of a shipbuilding yard. Even Mr. Bard's and Mr. Whitley's best friends would not dub them confirmed anti-fascists. Yet they exercise strategic authority in the war effort.

Loading of ships must be handled without delays. A ship tied for weeks to a dock is no more useful than a ship resting on the ocean floor.

What contribution has Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, head of East Coast longshoremen, made to speeding ahead ship-loadings? Mr. Ryan's history has been marked by a singular devotion to the theory that come hell and high water, the system of shape-up must be maintained. Unlike the practice on the West Coast, longshoremen in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or for that matter in any port, stand in line every day waiting for gang bosses to pick crews for work on the docks. When the favorites are designated, the surplus workers turn away disconsolately—yet on another dock nearby and at the same moment, longshoremen cannot be found. The anarchic system of shape-up nourishes countless abuses—favoritism, graft, bribery, the kick-back. In consequence, Mr. Ryan of Tammany fights every effort to bring efficiency to the waterfront—and to institute the system of hiring from a central hall (which has been so successful on the West Coast).

Ryan also exercises a charm over the shipowners far in excess of his personal attributes. Recently they joined Ryan on his junket here to Washington when he tried to block the appointment of Dean Wayne Morse of the WPB to the post of West Coast longshore administrator. The improvised lobby called on various influential congressmen and particularly on Admiral Land. Mr. Ryan gently—for him—intimated that an election was coming up and he would have a word in New York City politics—a fact which he thought peculiarly relevant. It seemed that lurking in Mr. Ryan's shrewd if unlearned mind was the fear that Dean Morse on the West Coast might make a success of things, and the example would center attention on failures in Mr. Ryan's extensive domain.

Mr. Ryan's protest, backed by the shipowners, was insufficient. On the West Coast, Wayne Morse in collaboration with the shipping companies and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges speeded work on the docks and reduced opportunities for sabotage. The Bridges plan (how Mr. Ryan hates the Bridges plan!) for increasing production was adopted in large measure. Already murmurs are heard in the East that Mr. Ryan must be brought into line. Admiral Land hesitates.

The newsletter *In Fact* carried an expose charging that any person in New York could sign up as a longshoreman if he paid an initiation fee—as a result, danger of sabotage to ships and cargoes is appalling. The newspaper *PM* quoted Joseph Curran to the effect that hiring conditions on the East Coast waterfronts provide "a perfect setup to attract Nazi saboteurs and elements of that type."

Loading on the East Coast has been so sloppy—and there have been serious charges of sabotage—that lend-lease ships have repeatedly returned to port because cargoes shifted, endangering the vessel's safety. One ship is known to have broken in two because of bad loading, and another was wrecked. Too often shipments arrive in lend-lease countries smashed and valueless because of improper stowing. Ships wait in Atlantic ports for weeks and sometimes for months before loading is finally completed (the cause most generally is failure to place material on the docks). Yet with proper direction, these ships could have been reloaded and turned around within a week or ten days. So long as Ryan's influence prevails, there is slim chance of improving longshore skill and efficiency.

Add to this a new danger. The rumor intensifies here (and it is by no means baseless) that Joseph P. Kennedy, former ambassador to Great Britain, is slated for the position of East Coast maritime administrator. Ryan doesn't want *any* administrator—but he will take Kennedy as a lesser evil. He has dealt with Kennedy in the past. The former ambassador slips in and out of Washington, smiling owlishly, fixing his sad eyes on the proper people. Of course, he has made no statement on the war since Pearl Harbor—at least publicly; prior to December 7, Kennedy remarked that "It is nonsense to say that an Axis victory spells ruin for us." He predicted that "We can do

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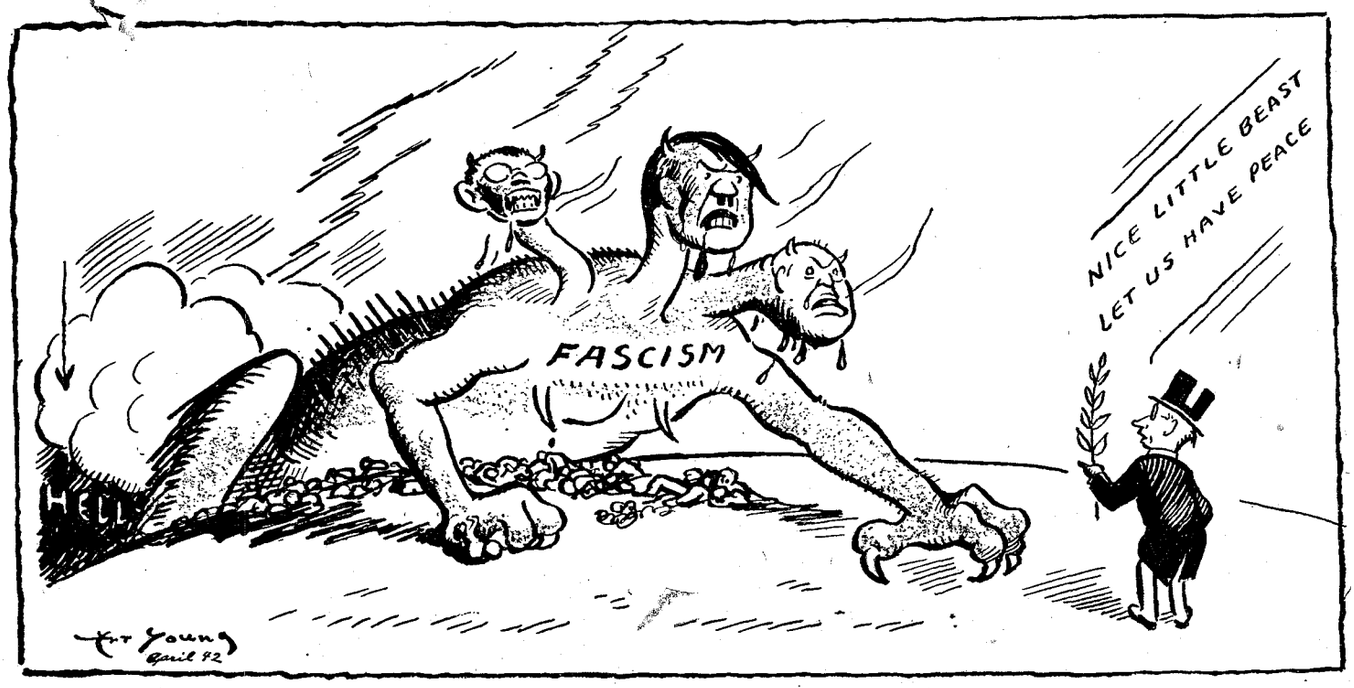

Appease!— To quiet, pacify, conciliate — Webster

Art Young

business with the Nazis." He declared "I cannot see where we could get ships to carry the necessary army and equipment for our participation in the war."

At best, Mr. Kennedy is a defeatist. He has been called an appeaser. He seemed to like the British Clivedeneers. He is hardly the man to organize shipping on the East Coast for an immediate offensive. Moreover, Joseph P. Ryan's approval is a doubtful recommendation. Father Coughlin's coy praise of Kennedy, reprinted by the *Daily Worker,* strikes an alarming note. A clean-up of East Coast longshore conditions is imperative. Kennedy cannot and will not do the job.

All possible protection must be accorded to our merchant marine and to the men who sail the ships.

Eighteen months ago the National Maritime Union presented a plan to Secretary of Navy Knox. Since then, and since Pearl Harbor, the NMU has repeatedly urged acceptance of the plan. What the union suggested was simple enough: Fishing boats and small craft, equipped with two-way radios, should patrol the coastal sea lanes, on the alert for submarines, ready to notify all vessels of the enemy's presence. Some of these little boats could carry machine guns and depth bombs, acting as auxiliary fighting craft in this all-out war. But the plan evidently was filed away in the recesses of some office. And almost every day, ships are torpedoed along our long coast line, often in sight of land.

Let us grant from the first that ship losses are inevitable, and that no patrol can eliminate all sinkings. But many of the casualties to our merchant fleet, insist NMU officials, could have been avoided. The testimony of the NMU carries weight. Why has the union's plan gone untried?

At a New York City dock, the *Normandie* burned—a tragic loss. It burned, says the official report, because of gross carelessness. The government asks that the Robins Drydock and Repair Co. pay damages for negligence. But damages are small comfort. Moreover, after one disaster, the authorities still did not take warning. Another fire—"carelessness" again—broke out on the *Normandie* last week. What possible explanation can be offered for the second occurrence? The NMU has warned repeatedly: "There have been too many instances of fires and accidents in recent months to be purely accidental."

Many months ago the NMU presented a further program to the War Shipping Administration. All ships, the proposal read, should be equipped with safe life preservers; seamen should be trained in gunnery as is done on British boats and the arming of ships should be speeded; cargoes should be inspected to avoid shifting at sea; every lifeboat should be provided with a medical kit and compressed food; one lifeboat on each cargo vessel should be equipped with an outboard motor to speed rescues at sea; blackout of ships on the Atlantic should be rigorously enforced.

The purpose of this program requires no elaboration. With crews trained and able to fight off the enemy, many more vessels would survive attack. With reasonable safeguards provided, many more trained seamen would live to fight another day. Adm. Emory S. Land refuses to "believe" that seamen are burned to death in flaming oil when tankers sink. He sits in his office up at the Commerce Department (his office is so nautical that even the right side of the room is referred to as starboard), and laughs at proposal that ships in danger zones should sling lifeboats into launching position so that they could be lowered with a minimum of delay. Admiral Land dislikes "messing about" with organized labor. Not one labor representative sits with the War Shipping Administration. Yet shipowners are heavily represented, and to them goes the authority to regulate distribution of shipping, protection, even labor policies.

Perhaps Admiral Land has his own good reasons for rejecting union proposals. But he owes the union and the nation an explanation. On a visit to Washington, Joseph Curran told me with a bitter laugh, "I'm willing to be shown if the NMU is wrong. But I don't cotton to being told that what I *know* and the men *know* just isn't so."

The accusation has been made that despite explicit orders from Secretary Knox, certain masters still sail ships outside defined sea lanes. Sinkings are more common on courses at variance with the proscribed routes. Rear Adm. M. H. Simons, commander of the Fourth Naval District, stated that at least half the shipping losses in the Atlantic were unnecessary, attributable to disobedience of orders. If the charge is correct, the blame must rest on those shipowners willing to gamble with ships and lives for a few extra pennies.

The National Maritime Union has come forward with a constructive program to eliminate the bottleneck of shipping. The speed with which the union's suggestions are considered depends in large part on the support the NMU receives from every other union, AFL and CIO alike, and from every victory-minded organization.

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Compass for War Economy

By the Editors

MR. AND MRS. AMERICAN are now busy looking over President Roosevelt's seven-point economic program and trying to see what it means to them and to the country. We venture to predict that they will come to the conclusion that on the whole it's a good program, good for them, good for the country, good for the war effort. The latter is, after all, the supreme test. Will these proposals help or hinder the winning of the war? To us they look like the pattern of a rounded war economy—what we need to help us win.

In future issues we hope to discuss this economic program in detail; here we shall confine ourselves to a few of the more controversial proposals.

Price control.—Price control, taxation, and rationing are the three most important elements in preventing the cost of living from spiraling upward and in keeping our war economy on an even keel. The President urges that price ceilings be placed on all goods bought by consumers, retailers, wholesalers, and manufacturers. Mr. and Mrs. American, whose living costs have risen about fifteen percent since the fall of 1939 (in the case of food it's about twenty-five percent), will appreciate this. So will most small businessmen. In fact, there are some items whose prices ought to be forced down. The President also proposes a ceiling on rents "for dwellings in all areas affected by war industries." There is hardly an area today that is not affected directly or indirectly by war industries. It seems to us it would be better and simpler to put a ceiling on all rents rather than to control some and leave others uncontrolled.

The big bottleneck is farm prices. The so-called congressional farm bloc insists on getting favors for the wealthy farmers whom it represents. These special interest lobbyists wrote into the price control law a provision which practically guarantees further substantial increases in the cost of food. The majority of the nation's farmers, as well as all other sections of the population, can derive nothing but harm from anything that so unbalances our economy. President Roosevelt is absolutely right in demanding that this provision be revised so that parity prices, rather than 110 percent of parity, be the objective. (Parity is the achievement of the same relation between farm and industrial prices that existed in the years 1909-1914.)

Taxes.—The President declares that "Profits must be taxed to the utmost limit consistent with continued production" and asks that all excess profits be taken by taxation. He also urges that income from state and local securities be subject to taxation and that individual incomes, after the payment of taxes, be limited to $25,000 a year. Some wealthy Americans object. It is curious how many of those who have been preaching stern sermons of sacrifice to workers earning forty dollars a week are hot with indignation at the idea of being compelled to make ends meet on a mere $25,000 a year (about $500 a week). Albert W. Hawkes, president of the US Chamber of Commerce, for example, invoked the four freedoms, national unity, the "free enterprise system" and whatnot in defense of his and his colleagues' right to carry on at their accustomed luxurious standard of living. And the New York *Herald Tribune,* in the very editorial in which it demanded a ceiling on wages, asked: "Since when . . . has it been the function of tax policy to see that no corporation or no citizen earn more than a fixed income?"

Not all wealthy men, however, share this reluctance to sacrifice for the sake of victory. Edward M. Queeny, president of the Monsanto Chemical Co. of St. Louis, Philip K. Wrigley, chewing gum manufacturer, and William S. Jack, president of Jack & Heintz, Inc., Cleveland aircraft parts plant, expressed readiness to accept the $25,000 income limitation. Doubtless there are many others like them.

More important as far as practical results are concerned is the taxing of excess profits. A survey published by the New York *Times* on April 5 showed that the combined net profits of 758 corporations in 1941 after the deduction of taxes were only 16.5 percent less than in the boom year of 1929 despite the fact that taxes were very much higher in 1941 than in 1929. This means that the corporate waistline could stand considerable contraction without interfering with production. The proposals made by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau in March don't go far enough. They would increase by fifteen percent the present rates of the excess profits tax. But since this tax yielded in 1941 only $327,009,041, compared with an average of $1,500,000,000 a year from the excess-profits tax in 1917-20, it is evident that much more must be done to meet President Roosevelt's goal of taxing profits "to the utmost limit consistent with continued production." The National Lawyers Guild advocates an eighty percent tax on all profits above five percent on invested capital. That's more like it.

Rationing.—Rationing is bound to play an increasingly important role in our war economy. It is necessary for the threefold purpose of giving priority to materials for war production, preventing prices from spiraling upward, and assuring an equitable distribution of supplies. We are about to ration sugar and gasoline. This is only a beginning, and that is as it should be. Preparations ought, for example, to be already under way to ration consumers' durable goods, whose production will shortly cease completely. The recent Win the War conference of the Greater New York Industrial Council of the CIO urged "the immediate institution of a rationing system controlling the distribution of all consumer goods, administered by boards on which labor is represented."

Wages.—President Roosevelt wisely refrained from recommending the fixing of wages, as was urged by certain shortsighted business spokesmen, as well as professional grinders of anti-labor axes. The fact is, as the President indicated, stabilization of the other factors in the cost of living will undoubtedly promote a certain stabilization of wages, particularly since labor has relinquished the strike weapon and is utilizing the machinery of the War Labor Board to adjust wages and other grievances. The President is also right in pointing out that "The existing machinery for labor disputes will, of course, continue to give due consideration to inequalities and the elimination of sub-standards of living." In addition, there are many industrial, agricultural, and white-collar workers who do not come under the jurisdiction of the War Labor Board, but whose living standards require improvement.

WHAT about the theory that in view of the shortage of civilian goods, inflation can be avoided only through siphoning off purchasing power by keeping wages down and taxing low incomes heavily? The fact is that the biggest price rises have occurred in food, of which there is no shortage. If the 65 percent of American families whose annual income is less than $1,500 a year can be given the purchasing power to buy more food, it will help the war program without promoting price increases provided proper controls are established. The problem is not to reduce purchasing power, but to direct it away from those commodities that are scarce toward those that are plentiful and toward war bonds. This the President's seven-point program is designed to do. It involves sacrifices for all, but also for all of us, as Mr. Roosevelt pointed out, a privilege—the privilege of working and fighting together for victory and freedom.

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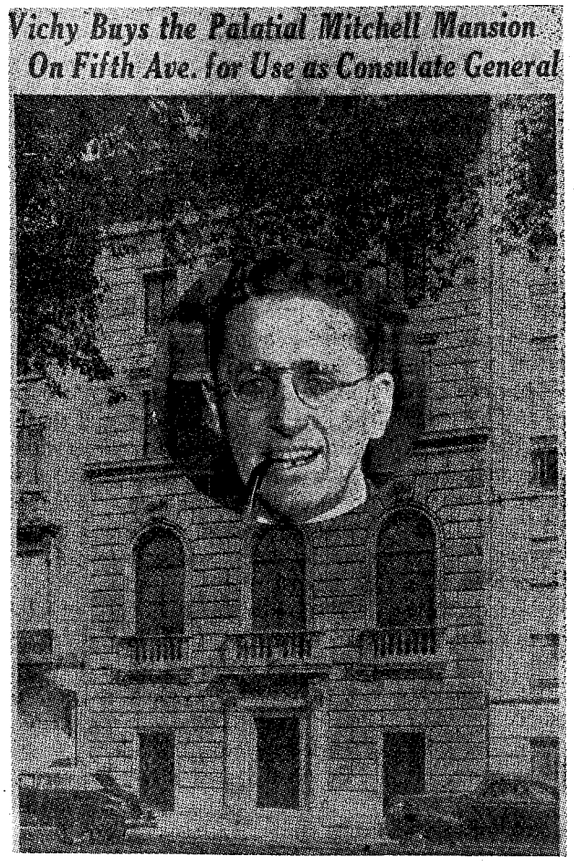
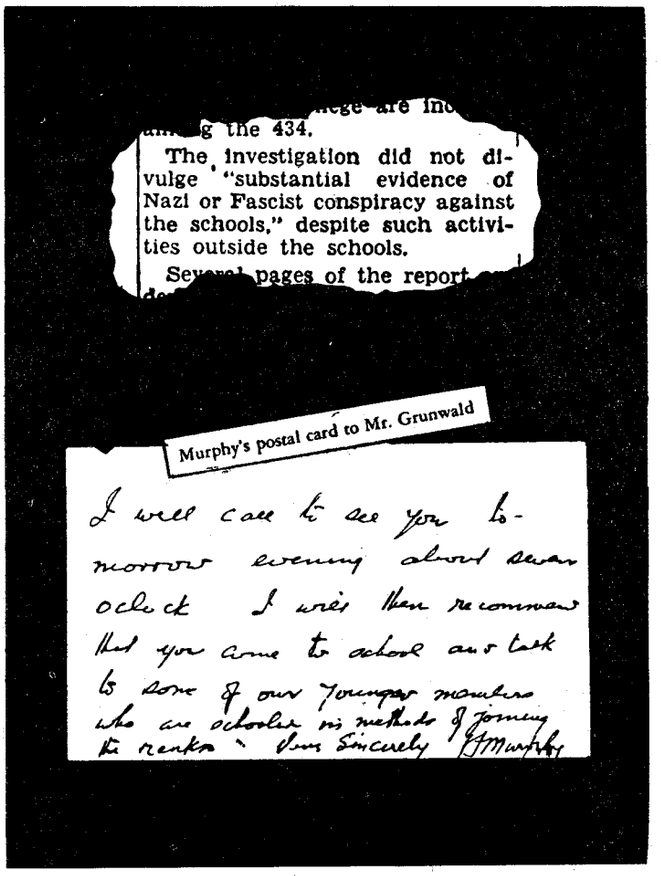
VICHY'S COUDERT




the 434.
The investigation did not divulge "substantial evidence of Nazi or Fascist conspiracy against the schools," despite such activities outside the schools.
Several pages of the report
Murphy's postal card to Mr. Grunwald
I will call to see you tomorrow evening about seven oclock I will then recommend that you come to school and talk to some of our younger members who are schooled in methods of joining the ranks. Yours Sincerely T F Murphy

On the left is the photo from the New York *Times* of March 26 of Vichy's new quarters in New York. We have added the inset photo of Senator Coudert which should adorn the building since his firm, Coudert Bros., are attorneys for Hitler's "collaborators." Above is a clipping from Hearst's *Journal-American* of April 22, and below it evidence of the fascist activity Coudert worked so hard not to find: a post card sent by Timothy F. Murphy, until recently dean at Samuel Gompers Vocational School, to Werner Grunwald, linked to the Nazi Bund, inviting him to "come to school and talk to some of our younger members."

THE Rapp-Coudert committee has spent $200,000 in its investigation of "subversive activities" in the public schools and colleges of New York City. That's a lot of money. The boys on Bataan would have appreciated $200,000 worth of extra equipment.

How *was* the money used? Against the enemy or for him? The answer is given by the Rapp-Coudert committee in its report to the New York State legislature. The answer is an affront to our troops at Corregidor, New Caledonia, North Ireland.

The committee reported that information regarding Nazi activity in our schools "was not material to the education inquiry." Pro-fascist conspiracies evidently do not fall into the category of "subversive activities." As a result, the Rapp-Coudert committee does not present a single case of enemy activity against our schools. The committee therefore lends a protective coloration to the enemies of our war effort.

Coudert's attempt to make "Communism" the issue falls in with Hitler's strategy. This attempt "is designed to divert attention from the job we should all be united on—the defeat of Hitler and all his puppets." In these words, Pres. Charles E. Hendley of the New York Teachers Union sums up the whole case against Coudert. It is no cause for wonder that two members of the committee refused to sign his disruptive report.

As we have constantly warned, the "anti-Bolshevik" crusade is the mask of a general drive against every genuine anti-fascist force. Frederic Coudert proves it by smearing not only the alleged reds, but by concentrating his fire on New York's Board of Higher Education. He attacks the faculty-democratization plan of the New York public colleges on the ground that the democratic principle is untrustworthy. In fact, the committee now claims for itself the right to excommunicate any ideas or conduct of which it disapproves. It urges that "emphasis be laid on personal standards of conduct rather than proof of membership in conspirative groups." And these "personal standards of conduct" are to be judged in terms of whether they correspond to the "Communist pattern." Here is a net wide enough to cover every anti-fascist in America.

A study of the committee's report shows a striking resemblance to the recent pronouncements of Laval's puppet regime. It is an interesting fact that Mr. Coudert is an attorney for that regime.

It is astonishing that newspapers like the New York *Herald Tribune* and the New York *Times* fail to see this. They must learn to see the contradiction between their support of Coudert and their support of the war against the Axis. Moreover, there is a glaring disparity between the *Times'* attack on American Communists, whether real or alleged, and its editorial observation the same week that the French Communists form "a rallying point for patriots joined for the first time to the forces of the extreme left by the strong bond of a common hate." This strong bond of anti-fascist hate would be loosened by the Lavals and the Couderts. That is their common object.

It is not too late to urge Governor Lehman to withhold the $50,000 added appropriation for Coudert. That money should buy cartridges, not aid and comfort for our enemies.

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WHY HITLER PROMOTED LAVAL

A Frenchman tells why the Petain-Darlan combination failed. The new Premier's task: "To make France safe for fascism." Antoine Hebert forecasts Der Fuehrer's next step.

WHILE Pierre Laval stood before the microphone to deliver his first broadcast as the head of the Vichy government, still warm bodies of Frenchmen, riddled with Nazi bullets, were piling up in barracks, yards and vacant lots of the occupied zone. Thus began what has been termed "a new era in the history of French-German relations," and what will be known later as the beginning of open warfare in France.

I must say that the reaction of many American commentators to the latest French events was as naive as it was sudden. They pitied the poor old Marshal Petain, and incidentally the French people. They foresaw a complete change of rule in Vichy. They lamented the second and decisive "fall of France," now reduced to the status of a Nazi vassal.

But in my opinion, it is time to quit worrying about that senile butcher of his own people. The new shift in the Vichy personnel can become a defeat for the fascist rulers of France, hence a Nazi defeat. As for the French people, they do not need pity, but arms. They do not care about obituaries but would welcome a second front.

Laval did not pop up unexpectedly out of Otto Abetz' pocket. In the past fifteen years French reaction has tried time and again to impose him upon the French people who invariably ejected him from office. The struggle culminated in 1935 when the then Prime Minister Laval, on the eve of senatorial elections, relinquished his seat in a Parisian suburb and fled to his native village rather than face a Communist opponent. As an individual he was unimportant, and still is. He and scores of other reactionary politicians, carried away by the landslide of the People's Front, were but the obedient servants of the Schneiders, the de Wendels, the Michelins.

As long as the latter succeeded in keeping the people divided and their own stooges elected, they had been all out for democracy. Confronted with a united front of common people, they changed their mind. If a constituency no longer could be blackmailed or cheated into electing Lavals, if the Parliament insisted on governing the country, democracy had outlived its purpose. Bullets were to prove more efficient than vote bulletins.

When the day of reckoning came—in June 1940, in Bordeaux—two problems were involved. First, how to make the armistice contribute toward a Nazi victory? That was Hitler's chief concern, in which the French fascists were vitally interested. Second, how to make the people of France swallow the deal without provoking a civil war? That was the chief concern of the French fascists, in which Hitler was vitally interested. On the solution of these problems depended the future of fascism—in France and in Germany.

IT IS often assumed that Hitler aimed at enslaving France and reducing her to a colonial status. That may be true, but only after he has won a world-wide victory. As long as the war lasts, what Hitler needs is a strong and friendly France. Not strong enough to remain a danger to himself, but powerful enough to be able at least to defend herself—on his side, and against his enemies.

After all, France is not Slovakia; it is the second largest empire in the world. As an Axis partner, she would prove much more valuable than Italy. If close collaboration were impossible, however, France had to be kept neutral. Already planning to attack the Soviet Union, Hitler could not afford to get involved in an upheaval in the West; nor did he have men to spare to conquer hostile French colonies, or man the French Navy. Moreover, a neutral France would protect his rear, just as Italy did until June 1940. Accordingly, instead of appointing a Gauleiter, Hitler let the French fascists take the matter in their own hands. If he needed them, they needed him even more.

They knew they could not beat the French people into submission, they had to double-cross them. The French army, though defeated, still existed; there were loyal officers; and the privates were armed. The use of a decoy was imperative: a man whose soldier's honor was unquestioned as yet even by his adversaries at home and abroad. Even Parliament had to be respected. So the Chamber of Deputies voted itself out of existence and turned over the power to Petain. Laval acted merely as a go-between.

Were it not for Laval, Petain would have remained just another retired marshal, remembered by officials as "the victor of Verdun" and by the World War veterans as the man who butchered the mutiny back in 1917. Whether he accepted his new role as an accomplice or as a tool, is a problem for psychologists. The result was the same.

At the time of the armistice the future Vichy personnel comprised men who wanted Hitler to win and those who were convinced he had won already. Only to that extent can one speak of any differences of opinion among the Petains, the Darlans, and the Lavals. The politician was simply smarter than the marshal and the admiral. The latter might have nurtured illusions about a fascist France in a democratic world, but Laval knew that their common rule could endure only in a Hitler-dominated world.

That was in 1940. In the two ensuing years—during which foreign observers have emphasized a conflict between Vichy and Berlin, an actual struggle was going on between Petain and Hitler on one hand, and the French people on the other.

Petain did score a few "victories." He outlawed the people's political parties and the trade unions, persecuted the Jews, filled the concentration camps, and made innumerable speeches. But all this was of no avail; he failed to win the French people. They would not collaborate with Hitler. They would not collaborate with Vichy. They would not even believe—as did many persons abroad—that the Nazis actually were displeased with Vichy. If at first the Frenchman had been stunned by the defeat, if many of them did really trust Petain, if problems of food were at one moment more pressing than politics, today that is no longer so.

England was not defeated. The Soviet Union inflicted the first great defeat on Hitler. Petain no longer could plead the inescapability of a Nazi victory. America joined the fight and Petain became less useful as a link between Hitler and the neutrals. Above all, he did not succeed in presenting Hitler with a benevolent France: the Nazis face today a country more hostile and much more united than in 1940. The old marshal outlived his importance, if ever he had any. Fascism has lost the second battle of France, in which its troops were led by "the victor of Verdun." Fascism has lost it at a time when it cannot afford to lose battles.

What was Hitler to do? To occupy south-

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ern France, appoint a Gauleiter, transform the latent civil war in France into an active one, and himself open up a second front in the West? Or to keep Petain and Darlan in order further to placate gullible foreign diplomats, at the same time making one last try to double-cross the French people? The choice was obvious. The combination Laval-Petain-Darlan, the answer.

It is even doubtful whether much pressure was needed to make Petain accept Laval. New bonds today tie together the men responsible for the betrayal. Too much blood has been shed in France, not only by the Nazi firing squads, but also by the Vichy executioners. The partnership between Petain and Laval, whether they like or hate each other personally, is sealed with Frenchmen's blood. Even if the Marshal merely believed in June 1940 that Nazi victory was inevitable, today he must do his utmost to contribute to it—for his own sake. It is too late for him to switch over. Should some Allied circles expect that and forgive him, his own people never will.

THUS, as I see it, Pierre Laval has the task of making France safe for fascism. Evidently he intended to form a "left" Cabinet. He conferred with Marquet, Bergery, and others who had been "leftists"—as they probably had had chickenpox—many years ago. But even they felt that a portfolio in the new government would be too hot to hold. There was nothing left for Laval but to keep some of the old ministers and to blend them with a few of his personal stooges. In his Cabinet Laval found himself the only "leftist," under "the high authority of the Chief of State."

His broadcast would have been much stronger could he have spoken in first person, plural. In fact, the only "we" in his speech referred to Petain and himself. All he could do under the circumstances was to deliver a kind of demagogic appeal which fascist leaders usually make before they seize power. Coming after two years of hunger and terror, it was bound to fall flat.

Laval did not come to Vichy in order to deliver the French fleet or the empire to the Axis: had Hitler really needed it, Petain would have done it himself, as he did in the case of Indo-China. Laval came in a last desperate attempt to deliver the French people as a whole to the Nazis. He can be counted upon to resort to every trick in his repertoire of a shyster lawyer and a parliamentary wire-puller in order to achieve his purpose. When he fails—as every French patriot knows he will—there will be nothing left for the Nazis but reluctantly to take over themselves. The French ruling class would have proved that it is unable to get its people to accept fascism even with the help of foreign armies.

Whether the terrorist in Laval will soon become uppermost to the demagogue, is immaterial. Whether it will happen in a week or in a year depends upon the war developments and the militancy of the French people.

The outside world hears little from the French people, except the explosions of bombs and the shots of the Nazi firing squads. In this tragic silence, 40,000,000 people stand united as never before. A common hope and a common hate make them live. Among them, the Communists are the only ones really organized with a consistent policy and able to carry it out all over the country—and the most courageous. They are not the majority, far from that. The majority is composed of patriots gathered from all over the political horizon, betrayed or abandoned by their former leaders, to whom the Soviet victories appear like so many lifebelts. They are the willing soldiers. But they are not used to working illegally. Too often they sacrifice themselves in vain. The Communists do have the experience, and under their influence the word "patriot" once more gains the revolutionary connotation it had in 1793.

Those Frenchmen who trusted Petain no longer do so; by giving his blessings to Laval, he irrevocably alienated whatever confidence he might have enjoyed.

The French patriots think daily of their sons, brothers, and fathers kept in German captivity. But they also know that these prisoners are at war, and they know that the only way to have the prisoners released is to win the war.

The French patriots cannot understand how the great American republic—their ally—can send them air-borne leaflets with words of encouragement, and keep its diplomatic representatives in Vichy. What they want is arms and help against the Nazis. They will be strong enough to take care of their own fascists if helped to dispose of the invaders.

The French patriots withstood the Petain fallacy. They are resisting the demagogy of Laval, and should open terror succeed his futile efforts, they will resist the killers to the best of their ability and their strength.

It is up to the United Nations to shorten the misery of the French people. There are rivers and mountains in France, beaches and city streets, good to fight on, and worth fighting for. There are, above all, men and women willing to fight.

ANTOINE HEBERT.

Gabriel Peri's Family—Hostages

Lisbon by (mail).

THE well known Nazi practice of barbarous reprisals against the families of anti-fascists is being emulated by the Vichy government which still tries to keep up the pretense of "independence" and "neutrality." Gabriel Peri, French Communist leader and former vice-chairman of the foreign affairs commission of the Chamber of Deputies, was shot in Paris some weeks ago by a German firing squad—a crime for which Vichy professes to bear no responsibility. But it cannot so easily wash its hands of the crimes it has committed against Peri's family.

Soon after the negotiation of the surrender to Hitler in June 1940, the Vichy government arrested Peri's wife, Mathilde, her old mother, Madame Torinyac, the wife's sister, Pauline, and the latter's two-year-old daughter, Ninette, and held them as hostages for Gabriel Peri, who was then in hiding in occupied France. They were taken to the Rieucros concentration camp in the district of Lozere, confined to a small room, and forbidden to speak to the other women internees. The Rieucros camp is notorious for the brutal behavior of its officials, and unhygienic conditions. Situated in the mountains, the summer days are long and hot, water is scarce, and rats plentiful, while in winter the temperature falls as low as fifteen degrees below zero, Centigrade. The 500 interned women include, in addition to French opponents of "collaboration," German, Italian, and Polish anti-fascists. Naturally under such conditions the women are ill much of the time, and epidemics of dysentery have occurred. Latest reports tell of a trachoma epidemic among the German women.

This was the place to which the government of Petain and Darlan sent the family of one of the noblest Frenchmen of our time, not sparing a seventy-two-year-old woman and a two-year-old baby. Madame Torinyac, ill of cancer, soon had to lie down and could not be moved. Her daughter, Pauline, was married to a high official of the loyalist government of Spain. After Franco's victory he remained in Spain and continued the fight against fascism underground. It was in the Rieucros concentration camp, while beset with the problem of trying to survive and helping others to survive in that foul and desolate place, that Pauline learned that her husband had been seized by Franco and shot on Sept. 22, 1940, in Montjuich, near Barcelona.

Mathilde Peri, a woman of delicate health, developed tuberculosis. Her husband, hunted by the Nazi overlords, thought constantly of his family, but few of his letters arrived. In the last letter that Mathilde received, he wrote: "I have a bed to sleep on in the place where I live, but what about you? I send this letter from somewhere and you cannot answer me, but I hope I shall be able to write you again." Mathilde Peri finally had to be sent to a sanitarium—with a policewoman as company, since Mathilde was only "on leave." What will happen to her and the tens of thousands of other anti-fascists of various nationalities in Vichy's concentration camps? Will the democratic world remain silent?

CONRAD VANVES.

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ARM-CHAIR STRATEGIST

What was "Fortune's" military expert getting at? His curious differences with General MacArthur's estimate of the Red Army.

"During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studied in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past.

"In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counter-attack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of the effort mark it as the greatest military achievement in all history."

Gen. Douglas MacArthur on the Red Army, February 1942.

"Communism under Stalin has produced the best generals in this war."

Lord Beaverbrook, April 23, 1942.

THAT is what a top flight soldier and a top flight statesman think of the Red Army and its generals. Neither one of these men is a left-winger. But, lo and behold, a stool-strategist of *Fortune* has come out in the current issue with a big, supposedly military piece, designed for heaven knows what purpose. It concludes:

"On the whole, though the evidence favors the Nazis, it is not conclusive. It must allow for competent Red leadership, the lack of which in 1941 was the greatest single cause of the Soviet disasters. It must allow for a masterful system of depth defense, which this time may be even more bottomless. It must allow for the possibility that the Allies will open a second front. And it must allow for the turns of chance that no commander can foresee, and that may profoundly affect the course of any battle, campaign, or war. By next November we shall know."

To this there can only be one answer: "No, Mr. Arm-Chair Strategist, YOU will not know even then."

In the quotation from *Fortune* we have the exact antithesis of what MacArthur and Beaverbrook said. The purpose? Seemingly to make for unity between the Allies by the original method of denigrating the mightiest and most important (militarily) among them. There is another, purely political purpose. The piece is really a means of reintroducing an old discredited saw: General Tukhachevsky was the "genius" of the Red Army. Voroshilov was jealous of him. Tukhachevsky's execution ruined the whole show. The trick is so stale that it is hard to talk about it.

However, I sat down to write about the military stuff and let myself be carried away by the exposure of the scheme behind the "strategy." So—*revenons a nos moutons!*

The job is not easy—few things are harder than analyzing the writings of a civilian who has read a military book (Eimannsberger's *"Der Kampfwagenkrieg"* in this case). There is really nothing to sink your teeth into. Everything rings false to the soldier's ear. It is not enough to gather clippings, to copy quotations. One must have the feeling of battle, of conflict. This the author of the piece in *Fortune* lacks completely. He wrote a generally anti-Soviet article and trimmed it with amateurish pseudo-military frills.

THE article has one chief object, utterly unmilitary: to show that socialism cannot produce good generals (among other things). Everything in the piece is made to conform to that purpose. A phrase in the second paragraph gives the show away: "It was not superior force but superior thinking that brought the Nazis their triumphs of last summer—just as it was a mistake in judgment that caused their failure at the gates of Moscow." Please note the subtle use of words: the Nazis use "superior thinking," but make only "mistakes in judgment." The ponderous discussion that follows attempts to support this contention which is based on the false premise that the Germans faced superior force.

The author of the article states that Soviet sources estimated there were 170 German divisions at the outset of the war. But he omits to say that the same source fixed the number of Soviet divisions then at seventy-five. Here is the fundamental fallacy of the article, on which the false edifice is built.

This fallacy receives further development in a later paragraph, when the author states: "Thus for the first time (on the Soviet front) the Nazi invading force faced an enemy bigger and better equipped." As far as equipment is concerned, we may assume that before 1939 the Red Army had a number of tanks, planes, and guns which matched the German Army. But after that the Germans were presented with the whole of Europe, with its armies, the equipment of these armies, factories, raw materials, etc. The steel production of Nazified Europe was two and one-half times greater than that of the Soviet Union.

No serious military man will say today that the Red Army had more tanks and planes than the Germans in June 1941. The whole crux of the situation lies in the stark fact that the Soviet General Staff had to face an enemy who had superior numbers, quantitatively superior equipment, *plus* the element of surprise.

It is quite clear to any student of military science that, given a situation like this and a country like the Soviet Union, Clausewitz' fourth principle of defense (transferring that defense into the interior of the country) was indicated. In applying this method, the Soviet General Staff was able, because of the very political and social structure of the country, to apply the defense in depth to a heretofore unheard of degree—giving the Red Army a forward extension in the form of the guerrilla army and a rearward extension in the form of the people in arms.

The author of the *Fortune* article also talks about defense in depth. He even had the cartographer make a very pretty map supposedly illustrating it. It looks like a tourist map of Long Island, complete with golf courses, historic buildings, and roadhouses. Only, it shows instead a nice little pattern of tank traps, pill boxes, and barbed wire curlicues. Pretty, but very, very amateurish. Just as amateurish is the reference to the "Stalin Line" which has never existed at all. The rest of the article is "learned" nonsense based on the fallacy I have pointed out.

In the matter of "tank doctrines" the author blames the Soviet General Staff for not adopting the Eimannsberger principle of tank armies, instead of diffusing their tanks by incorporating them into their infantry and cavalry divisions. This is where he drags in the ghost of Tukhachevsky, literally "on a tank." He writes: "Tukhachevsky was executed in 1937 for 'treason'—and possibly because he championed the tank and publicly ridiculed the old-fashioned notions of Marshals Voroshilov and Budenny." Note the quotes around the word "treason" and the utter nonsense about "public ridicule." There is not a single scrap of evidence to support the whole idea, but, on the other hand, the absence of traitors in the Soviet Union seems to indicate that treason had been found in the "right" place.

It is a curious thing that the *Fortune* article should be based, in an overwhelming majority of instances, on German accounts of operations. Here is the typical attitude of an unreformed Russian White Guard like Alexander Nazarov, whose name is associated with the piece: take the Nazi say-so and doubt an ally's word. This attitude is camouflaged by the following sentence: "It would have been inspiring to record that Red tactics and materiel had finally proved superior. Unfortunately they had not." We might ask about this: Says who? Whom are we supposed to believe? The man who "supplied the material" for this piece in *Fortune,* a man whose military experience is limited to sitting in the public library and reading military books without understanding them? Or are we to believe MacArthur, Brett, Standley, Eden, Beaverbrook, Harriman, Davies, and others who say that the Red Army did a fine job?

Lastly, we come to the figure of respective losses. Here again the slavish credulity of German claims becomes apparent. "Germany has lost perhaps 1,800,000 men in Russia." As for Soviet losses, the author believes that they have reached 4,500,000. So we gather the attacker was losing only forty percent of what the defender lost. A strange ratio indeed—arrived at only through blind belief in what the Nazis say. And a stranger military expert!

COLONEL T.

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(Cont' from page 3)

Then there are those people who don't want an offensive in Europe, not in 1942, or 1943, or at any time. They are the defeatists and pro-fascists who fear democracy, fear the liberating influences of this war much more than they fear Hitler. They tell us to concentrate on Japan—though that is the surest way to lose the war to Japan as well as Germany. Besides the direct pressure they exert on the government and on military and naval circles, these Hearsts, McCormicks, Coughlins, and Pattersons seek to confuse and immobilize millions of patriotic Americans who want a smashing victory over the Axis. And one of their favorite tactics is to paint Communism as the enemy of America and sow suspicion about the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In a hard-hitting editorial in *PM* last week Ralph Ingersoll challenged this divisive propaganda and urged a different attitude toward our most powerful ally, the USSR. One need not subscribe to everything he said about Russia and Communism to agree that "The American people have been maliciously and purposely sold a bill of goods by the agents of the Anti-Comintern [that is, the fascist aggressors] and by the Anti-Comintern's sympathizers in this country." That very day came a case in point: the Rapp-Coudert report raising hobgoblins of "Communism" in New York schools. What is most shocking is that two anti-Axis newspapers, the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune,* proceeded to endorse this Goebbels propaganda.

INGERSOLL'S concluding words ought to be taken to heart if we want to win this war and want to win, moreover, the kind of peace that will banish fear from the hearts of men: "We Americans have written and said to ourselves many times that the mask is off Hitler. But so long as we stop short of the last full measure of alliance with Russia to save the world from fascism, Hitler has a right to chuckle. So long as those American prejudices remain uncorrected, so long as they are allowed to block total collaboration with Russia—Hitler is still fooling us."

And we might add: so long as we fail to put all we've got into helping the British open a Western Front this spring and summer, and instead permit the appeasers and defeatists to divide us from our strongest allies, the USSR and Britain, Hitler is still fooling us and may yet succeed in annihilating us.

This is a May Day of blood, sweat, tears—and hope. Our hands clasp the hands of so many different peoples throughout the world and the humblest of us is touched by the common heroism and the grandeur of the common goal.

Let us make certain that the next May Day will dawn more brightly on all the continents that are the human home.

THE WEEK IN REVIEW

What Hitler Meant

JUDGING from the excerpts of Hitler's speech to his Reichstag last weekend, things have been moving more quickly within Germany than we had supposed. On the map, Germany's lines still stretch far into Russia; in western Europe Hitler's General Von Rundstedt is reported to be building superdefenses against invasion; Laval is in power and is cracking down—but underneath something deep and deadly has been happening to the German Army and the people. It is this which has knit the fuehrer's brow. His speech was not only weaker than the speeches of January 30 and December 11; it was actually shot through with admissions of how critical this winter has been both on the front and at home and how difficult things are going to be the rest of the year.

Hitler tells us it took superhuman efforts to master the "threat of disaster"; he says he had to make "hard decisions" where "nerves snapped, discipline broke down, or a sense of duty was lacking." He blames it on the weather, on the leniency of judges. He tries to give the impression that the worst is over, and that if everyone will only hold on, things will come out well in the end. The admission of the "threat of disaster," "hard decisions" is also sensational for a speech from Hitler. It leaves volumes to the imagination.

Add to that the announcement that the Nazis expect another winter of war. This is tantamount to saying that the United Nations and the Soviet Union are not likely to be defeated this year. It is tantamount to an admission that the hope of a definite military decision is beginning to fade in high Nazi circles. And this brings us to the second main idea which pervaded the whole speech, the open appeal, especially toward Great Britain, to somehow come to terms with Germany. Hitler hammered away at the old theme of the responsibility of the Jews; he suggested several times that Britain's allies are working at her expense; only by alliance with Europe could the empire be saved; and he suggested also that it would be too bad if this were realized in London too late.

All of this has been heard from Hitler before. But against the background of admitting a difficult situation within Germany, to suggest some stray hope of peace to London or Washington gives his speech the character of a peace offensive. This appears to be the offensive that Archibald MacLeish warned us about recently. Evidently the offensive expected for this summer has already begun.

Of course, no patriotic Englishman or American of whatever social class will listen to such talk. But it does remind us of the need for a much more diligent eradication of the appeasers, wherever they may be found in British and American life, the elimination of anyone who might possibly favor accepting anything less than a complete defeat for German fascism.

So also the admission of Hitler's difficulties ought not cause the slightest relaxation of our efforts, or give rise to the idea that the Nazi grip will be broken without heavy blows from the outside. On the contrary, the Nazis are clearly trying to tighten their grip; the decree giving Hitler powers of life and death over everyone is merely the external manifestation of a new campaign of increasingly open terror against the people and even sections of the bureaucracy.

That Hitler visualizes the war going on beyond next winter does not eliminate the danger of new blows against the United Nations, in the Atlantic, in Russia, in the Near East. Hitler's weakness, like his strength, demands a second front, a front that would capitalize on his fears of a two-front war, fears which are written all over his words.

The "Commando" raid on Boulogne last week was daring and encouraging. So were the air raids on the Baltic port of Rostock and the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia. They must be having a cumulative effect, if they inflame the Nazis to reprisals such as Hitler promised. But these raids must also become part of an organized, immediate front in western Europe, such as would give the Nazis their death blow, a second front—not next year—but in 1942.

India and the War

INDIA comes into the news again as the All-India National Congress meets this week at Allahabad. The world will be watching to see whether any initiative comes from this meeting to break the disappointing deadlock of the past month. What we have had recently about India were mostly recriminations between Sir Stafford Cripps and Jawaharlal Nehru: the former announced upon his return to London that even after the failure of his mission, things were better in India than before; Nehru replied bitterly that Cripps is quite mistaken. But all this is only a reflection of the real difficulties that India faces.

First of all, the Japanese are making progress in Burma, despite the remarkable

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resistance of the Chinese forces under the American, Lieutenant-General Stilwell. So far as is known, the large Japanese naval units are still in the bay of Bengal. Second, the situation within India and within the Congress is more tense than ever; differences of view have been exacerbated as the full meaning of India's crisis begins to sink in. There is Ghandi's influence for "passive resistance," which is in effect pro-Japanese. And splits are evidently developing even among those who formerly stood for the same policy. For example, the Madras section of the Congress Party, under the leadership of the influential Rajagopalachariar is reported to have come out for accepting the Moslem League's insistence on a separate Moslem state. This is a blow to the traditional Congress position, in effect a belated attempt to deal with Great Britain on any terms.

Finally, India's crisis is complicated by the stubborn stand of the diehards in London, who show no signs of making an offer of a thorough-going mobilization of the Indian people for war.

About the only encouraging thing has been the statement of Louis Johnson, the special American envoy in New Delhi, announcing the arrival of American troops to support the American Volunteer Air Corps which is already in India. Johnson's statement was noteworthy, first, because he emphasized that the United States has no ulterior, postwar motives in India, either at Britain's or India's expense, which may allay those suspicions in London that stand in the way of closer American cooperation. Second, Johnson emphasized the essential point, the necessity of defending India now.

More British and American troops, welcome as they are, cannot do the trick unless India herself is mobilized. Whether Congress will be able to check the crisis in its ranks, whether new forces based on the trade unions and the peasant organizations will make themselves felt at Allahabad, whether the British public can force a change in the War Cabinet's stubborn attitude, are the questions of the hour.

America and China could do much, for India and for the global war, if all parties could be brought together, if funds were raised for industrial cooperatives to produce munitions, if a beginning were made for large scale military training. A disinterested American and Chinese initiative is still in order.

March Slav

ONE-HALF of the workers in American heavy industry are of Slav extraction. That fact alone would lend importance to the American Slav Congress held in Detroit during the past weekend. But in addition, these Americans of Slavic descent have close national ties with those millions of Slavs in Europe who play such a powerful role in the liberation war against the Axis. The Soviet Union itself is largely, though by no means entirely, a Slav country. The Yugoslav Chetniks that are waging heroic guerrilla warfare against the Nazis, the Czechoslovaks who use the weapon of sabotage, the Poles who fight beside the Russians—all these are Slavs.

Nearly 2,500 delegates, representing practically every important Slav organization in this country with the exception of a few Polish groups, united forces at this congress and set up a permanent body with Leo Krzycki, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as president. To those who are familiar with the schismatic feuds that in the past have divided these organizations, the unity of the congress is itself an outstanding achievement. It is a unity that binds these Americans of Slav origin more closely to all other Americans in the common task of annihilating the Nazi and Japanese enemies of mankind. Paul V. McNutt, head of the War Manpower Commission, spoke truly when he told 10,000 persons at the final victory rally that the congress had "demonstrated the miracle of American unity."

And the congress showed it understood the needs of the hour by adopting resolutions calling for the opening of a Western Front, for organized struggle against fifth columnists in the Slav national groups, and for labor-management production committees in the war plants.

Who Started That Story?

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT offers some excellent advice: when you hear an indignant tale about how labor is "retarding production," ask the narrator, "Who started that story?" It's been proved untrue by all statistics on record, but the story is still repeated. Mrs. Roosevelt was referring in particular to the falsehoods being spread among men in the armed services, to the effect that workers in war industries were receiving fabulous sums and indulging in strikes while the soldiers and sailors did all the sacrificing. This rumor is being spread despite the well known fact that the right to strike has been voluntarily relinquished for the duration; and despite Secretary of Labor Perkins' recent statement that half the workers in war industries still get less than $37 a week. Besides, as Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out, workers who are now in the Army and Navy are having their living standards protected for them when they come back by organized labor's present insistence on supporting those standards.

But they are a persistent group, these anti-labor campaigners. A few weeks ago labor exposed and fought back their drive against non-existent strikes and a non-existent law limiting the work week to forty hours. Now they have let go against another target—union maintenance-of-membership. Their cue was the War Labor Board's decision that the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. of Kearny, N. J., should comply with a recommendation made last year by the old National Defense Mediation Board, that members now in the union, or who voluntarily join the union, must maintain their membership. The diehards who cannot bear even a modified form of the closed shop have joined in the pretense that the WLB's eight-to-four decision is a startling and outrageous measure with "dictatorial" implications. Of course it is nothing of the sort; maintenance-of-membership is simply a device to safeguard the union in its democratic rights. Last year Federal Shipbuilding so stubbornly opposed it that the government felt compelled to take over the plant for four months.

Now the labor-haters are using the WLB decision to wish a plague on all organized labor. H. V. Kaltenborn, radio commentator who aided Congressman Smith's crowd a few weeks ago, led off with the wild charge that American labor unions are "drunk with power." He also struck a new disunity note, which we may hear more of later—that the non-union workers are being discriminated against to the profit of union members. How this thesis will be sustained is impossible to imagine—but a falsehood for setting workers against workers is one of those "cute" ideas that the anti-labor generals aren't likely to drop quickly. Remember, their intended victim is not so much labor as unity—the unity of AFL and CIO, the unity of all workers, the unity of labor-management councils, of the people. Such a unity is not easy to impair; hence the use of "the bigger the lie."

Using Our Manpower

ONE of the most serious responsibilities of today rests with the War Manpower Commission created by President Roosevelt, with Paul V. McNutt as chairman. Only one of its tasks, as outlined by the White House, will indicate the size of the commission's job: "To estimate manpower requirements for the military, agricultural, and civilian fronts and direct government agencies as to proper allocation of available manpower." Yes, it is a large job—and a very important and necessary one. For coordination of all efforts to estimate and allocate manpower is surely a crucial part of war planning. Directing this huge centralized project are eight persons besides McNutt: Donald Nelson, representatives from the Department of War, Navy, Agri-

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culture, and Labor, from the Selective Service System and Civil Service Commission—and Wendell Lund who heads the newly created Labor Production Division of the War Production Board. (The old Labor Division of OEM has been abolished and its director, Sidney Hillman, becomes President Roosevelt's special assistant on labor matters.)

"Maximum mobilization" is the Manpower Commission's goal. This refers not only to the armed services but the most efficient use of manpower in industry and agriculture, or wherever it is required. The White House and Mr. McNutt have both made plain that the term "manpower" includes women. In fact, one of the most important contributions the commission can make is the training and mobilization of America's vast reserve of women for the war program. They, like the men, ask to be utilized in whatever capacity best serves their country. However immense the commission's job is, whatever its difficulties, it has the incalculable advantage of working with mighty human resources.

Outlawing Bigotry

WE SLIPPED up last week in failing to comment on something that is of first-rate importance even though it was buried in most of the press. We refer to the passage by the New York state legislature of an amendment to the Civil Rights Law making it a misdemeanor to deny employment in a war industry in any capacity because of race, color, or creed. In affixing his signature to the bill Governor Lehman said: "I am happy to sign this bill. By striking at bigotry and intolerance, we strengthen the civil liberties of all the people of the state and make possible the realization of our maximum effort."

Our country's entire war program would profit if this example were imitated in every state and nationally. President Roosevelt's Committee on Fair Employment Practice has done notable work in publicizing specific instances of discrimination and enlisting public opinion against such un-American practices. Its efforts, however, need to be implemented by laws such as that passed by New York state. And above all, the federal government itself needs to set the pace by driving Jim Crow and his friends out of the armed forces and out of every branch of government service.

Gasoline Curfew

JUST why gasoline rationing should be surrounded with so much confusion is a mystery. Last year there was the controversy about Secretary of the Interior Ickes' gasoline curfew. And now there is the mixup about the amount of gas that will be available to motorists when rationing starts May 15. Somebody in the Office of Price Administration last week

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announced that in seventeen eastern states and the District of Columbia the general motorist would be restricted to from two and a half to five gallons a week. This produced big headlines in the newspapers and big headaches for many car owners. The next day both Secretary Ickes and Price Administrator Leon Henderson repudiated the announcement and said the figure given was far too low. It seems to us that something ought to happen to the person or persons who, at a time when the upbuilding of national morale is essential, make such irresponsible announcements.

About the need for rationing gasoline and many other commodities there can be no doubt. A joint appeal issued by Ickes, Henderson, Donald Nelson, Joseph B. Eastman, and Adm. Emory S. Land states: "Already hundreds of men have lost their lives trying to bring in the oil needed for war. No patriotic American can or will ask men to risk their lives to preserve motoring as usual." For that matter, if the prosecution of the war requires the reduction of gasoline for non-essential civilian use to zero, it should be done. But there ought to be clear decisions in Washington and clear explanations. Any other policy gives ammunition to the defeatist press.

McCormick Slips One Over

ADOLPH HITLER must have got a chuckle out of the meeting of the Associated Press last week—if that dour despot ever indulges in anything so human as a chuckle. On Monday, Archibald MacLeish, director of the Office of Facts and Figures, addressing the AP members, warned them to be on guard against Hitler's coming "peace" offensive. And he urged that "the press, in its own interest as well as in the national interest, must expose and counteract those of its members who, at this moment of national peril, are attempting to influence American opinion, not in the direction of American victory, but in the direction of American defeat. The press must police itself. . . ."

That very day the tycoons of the world's largest news-gathering organization had an opportunity to show whether or not they were on their toes. The Chicago *Sun*, Marshall Field's new anti-Axis daily, applied for a "night report" membership in the AP. The Associated Press, be it remembered, is run like a very exclusive club and even people with money sometimes can't get in. The fight against the *Sun's* application was led by Colonel Robert McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*. It so happens that the *Tribune*, in addition to being the *Sun's* chief competitor, is probably the number one appeasement and defeatist newspaper in the country. Here was an opportunity for the AP to fight those that fight against America. But unfortunately it voted down the *Sun's* application by 684 to 287 and re-elected Colonel McCormick to its board of directors. No wonder McCormick hailed this vote as a victory over the government. It is, in fact, policing in reverse—in behalf of the Axis.

It would be silly to conclude that all or even a majority of the 684 AP members who sustained McCormick are defeatists and pro-fascists. They were simply practicing what MacLeish called newspapering-as-usual, acting in the monopolistic spirit that has hitherto dominated the Associated Press, without considering the deeper political consequences of this particular vote. But in the words of MacLeish: "Newspapering-as-usual is as inadmissible as business-as-usual and for the same reason—which is that the national interest now comes first." And he strongly intimated that if the press continued to evade the self-policing job, action would have to be taken by other authorities. It is unthinkable that while our country fights desperately for its very life, the McCormicks, Pattersons, and Hearsts should be permitted to pour out daily sedition in millions of copies.

White Collar

A RALLY of white-collar and professional workers, doctors, lawyers, small businessmen, is taking place at Manhattan Center, in New York this Sunday, May 3, at 2:30 PM. It's a rally for victory in 1942, and more particularly it will consider what white-collar folk can do to achieve the total effort that the war demands. Among the speakers thus far scheduled are Dr. Harry F. Ward; Bella V. Dodd, of the Teachers Union; Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union; Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers; Ewart Guinier, of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America. Alongside them will be Capt. Sergei Kournakoff, the noted military commentator, Dr. Franz Boas, Earl Robinson, and many others. A gathering of this kind has been overdue; the editors of NEW MASSES do not hesitate to say that they hope to see many of our friends and readers there.

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WHAT BROWDER TOLD THE WRITERS

Five years ago America's great anti-fascist analyzed the character and function of literature in the war of today. The writer's discipline and responsibility. An article by Samuel Sillen.

THE handsome jargon of many a critical Pooh-Bah in the past decade has crumbled to dust. A younger generation looks back with scorn, or at best indifference, on those who did fret and strut their hour on the literary stage, bewailing "politics" and "propaganda" in art. But the prophetic words of a man who, with characteristic modesty, never claimed authority as a literary critic, seem to grow in strength and wisdom as our war against fascism intensifies. "The struggle in which we are enlisted," Earl Browder told a Congress of American Writers five years ago, "is a war—a war which the fascist powers are rapidly translating into air-bombings and hails of machine-gun bullets over ever wider areas of the world." And his approach to literature had all the urgency and realism that such a war requires.

To every informed American writer, the thought of Earl Browder's prolonged imprisonment must seem particularly abhorrent. For in addition to sharing the sense of injustice and deprivation that other people feel, writers are conscious of a special debt to the prisoner in Atlanta. They recall that it was Browder, alone among the nation's political leaders, who warned them years ago that "The ivory tower has been irretrievably shattered by the bombs of Hitler and Mussolini." They recall that for a decade Browder has emphasized the responsibility of artists to hold fast to our traditional cultural life, saving it from the destruction threatened by "the modern vandals, the fascists." They recall Browder's words during the war in Spain: "Writers can stand aside from the struggles that are rending the world only at the price of removing themselves from the life of the people, the source of all strength in their art, and of becoming, even if unwittingly, apologists for reaction. They can join the camp of reaction only by completely abandoning all honesty and decency, not to speak of the professional stultification of all writers who join the goose-step parade of fascism which celebrates its victory by burning books." And even though he may have been unsure at the time, a writer, recalling these words, recognizes that they express the ideas by which he today lives or dies.

The collected essays and addresses of Earl Browder reflect his sustained interest in the character and function of anti-fascist literature. In an address to a writers' gathering, a lecture on John Reed, an article on "The Menace to Education," or a discussion of American history, he shows a rich acquaintance and sympathy with the artist and his problems. Even when he touches on cultural matters only incidentally, he suggests avenues of inquiry that lead to the key problems that cultural workers face today. Defining culture as the social organization of the search for truth, for ever higher truth, Browder links "the search for beauty" and "the creative power of the masses" with each specific moment in the age-old struggle between progress and retrogression. His approach to literature is therefore not abstract; it is integrated with an analysis of a particular historical epoch. And because he recognized, long before many others, that the distinguishing feature of our own epoch is the conflict between fascism and democracy, between Hitlerite barbarism and the human tradition, his remarks on literature ring true and clear today.

Nothing, he believes, can be achieved by imposing any pre-conceived patterns upon the writer. "Fine literature," he says, "must arise directly out of life, expressing not only its problems, but, at the same time, all the richness and complexity of detail of life itself." He declares that the Party which he leads wants to help bring to writers a wealth of material previously ignored. "Our Party interests are not narrow; they are broad enough to encompass the interests of all toiling humanity. We want literature to be as broad. . . ."

But while recognizing, as Lenin did, that in no field of human activity is it more difficult or dangerous to impose a formula, Browder strongly condemns the anarchistic conception of literary creation. It is in his definition of discipline and responsibility in writing that Browder has contributed most to our understanding of cultural activity in this war of liberation. "We would desire," he said in 1935, "so far as we are able, to arouse consciousness among all writers of the political problems of the day, and trace out the relationship of these political problems to the problems of literature. We believe that the overwhelming bulk of fine writing also has political significance. We would like to see all writers conscious of this, and therefore able to control and direct the political results of their work." In short, the real question is not, as some critics insisted, whether literature has or should have political significance. The fact is that it does. The real question is whether the writer is the conscious master of his work or its helpless victim. This is, in the end, as much an "esthetic" question as it is a "political" question. For in an era such as ours, confusion, uncertainty, ignorance with respect to real social relationships of real human beings are bound to be reflected, in one degree or another, in one form or another, in construction, characterization, and even style.

Earl Browder

As a Marxist, Browder has, of course, a specific method of apprehending and controlling reality, the scientific technique of historical materialism. But whether one agrees or disagrees with all the implications of this method, one may—and I believe for the health of American cultural life today one must—see eye to eye with Browder on his conception of artistic discipline and responsibility. In the thirties one heard a lot of sententious tosh about "artists in uniform." If the artist is in uniform today, it is because he is a real soldier in an actual war. The freedom which every writer demands, and legitimately demands, cannot become irresponsibility, Browder said in 1937. Yes, writers must work out their own discipline for their own techniques, their own forms; they must be true to their own experience and sensibility. "But in relation to the two great warring camps, democracy against fascism, they will find it necessary to adjust their own work to the higher discipline of the whole struggle for democracy." For, adds Browder, they are responsible to their fellow-men that their work does in truth serve the common cause.

The question of discipline in the anti-fascist fight is not created by Communists. It arises "out of the necessities of battle," and it requires that "when the democratic front is fighting the open enemy before us, it shall not be attacked from the rear by those who pre-

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tend to be part of it." One is gratified to see that this sound principle is today recognized by responsible writers and publishers who are aware that attacks on one or another of the United Nations are attacks on the American people. This principle has been clearly enunciated by Archibald MacLeish on more than one occasion recently. Its practical application is urged in an article on "War and the Book Business" by Bennet A. Cerf, president of Random House and of the Modern Library. In this article, which appeared in the March 28 issue of *The Publishers' Weekly*, Mr. Cerf advises publishers and booksellers to check their backlists carefully. The fortunes of war, he says, "have proven that some of our most deeply cherished theories were utterly false, our old conception of the Russian purges and trials, for instance, and the Russo-Finnish War, evidently were mistaken, and books that encouraged those beliefs should be taken off sale immediately. Russia is a friend in need to us today. People who dangle the menace of Russian communism constantly before us are increasing our chances of losing the war."

It follows logically that publishers must be equally on guard against publishing new lies and insinuations masquerading as true confessions. It seems a pity that publishers have been so remiss as to present the public with "utterly false" books without checking the Gestapo affiliations of their authors; but it is not too late, just as it is not too early, to repair the damage to the national interest. Fascism, writes Browder, never ceases fire; it is only we of the democratic camp who are still afflicted with old and confused habits, "and the price we pay for this weakness is counted in the lives and blood of thousands of our own comrades."

On the problem of nationalism and internationalism, a problem which is bound to engage the writer's interest today, Browder has made an illuminating contribution. Nobody in recent years has been more conscious of the need to vitalize our understanding of the national past; and nobody has seen more clearly that the fate of our nation is linked with that of all other peoples. Browder has vigorously opposed the cynical "debunkers" of American history. His writings have set up a strong counterforce to the narrow economic determinism of the Beard school of historiography. He has analyzed with shattering effect the meaning of novels like *Oliver Wiswell* or *Gone With the Wind*. He has had little patience with those biographers who seek to reduce the Washington of Valley Forge to their own tiny dimensions. As one traces Browder's ancestry back to the New England of the seventeenth century, the struggling America of the Revolutionary Era, the pioneers of the Midwest in the last century; as one reads of his own Kansas boyhood in the midst of the Populist farm movement, of his fusion with the awakening labor forces, one sees the solid foundation of his attack on "national nihilism" and his devotion to the free traditions of our country. And through his writings on Paine, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln he has communicated to many a reader not only a deepened understanding of America, but also an abiding love. He has taught that "the national interest" is the interest of the whole people and not the monopoly of a few. His work in this respect has been a powerful corrosive that destroyed the false cosmopolitanism and flighty bohemianism of many a writer. A life-long friend and student of the Negro people, Browder has directed attention to the great contribution of Negroes to American culture and he has inspired writers, both Negro and white, to portray the creative life of the colored masses in their books.

But this genuine sense of the nation and the nation's interests is anything but chauvinistic. For in transforming "the great patriots and teachers of the past into our living helpers in the present," Browder also helped restore their sense of international fraternity. And we find him saying, in a sentence pregnant with significance today: "When the reactionary camp raises the cry of 'The nation *against* internationalism,' in order to cover and assist their betrayal of the nation to international fascist banditry, it is our theory which enables the workers and all democrats to reply firmly and decisively, 'Our nation, in firm alliance with all international forces of democracy and peace; the nation, to realize internationalism, the brotherhood of man." The unity of the American people against fascism will find its highest and most fruitful expression in the unity of all the peoples against fascism. Can anyone deny that there is a shining symbol of our time in the picture of the man from Kansas traveling to China to help weld the unity of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism? Or the unassuming citizen of Yonkers bringing news from home to American boys in Spain's frontline trenches?

To one who is not blinded by prejudice, this man's career would seem to be the very material of a heroic anti-fascist legend of the epoch. And the experience encompassed in such a career gives added force to the prophecy of five years ago that "The greatest literature of our day will surely have at its heart precisely this, the artistic re-creation of the great process going on among the people of the creation of the broad democratic front against fascism. It will be fused with the spirit which is already creating great literature in those marvelous letters which are coming to us from the boys of the Lincoln Battalion. It will be filled with a great faith in the creative powers of the masses. It will reflect the growing power of the people that arises from that faith and its embodiment in a mass discipline and organization. It will reveal the flowering of great individuals, not through opposition to the common cause, but through identification and fusion with that cause." Here, in a few lines, is the earnest credo of that great body of literature at which writers aspire. In this ringing affirmation of the invincible, creative power of free people is the answer to fascism and its epitaph.

Extending the hand of fellowship and cooperation to writers of diverse political parties and beliefs, Browder told the Writers' Congress in 1937: "We are united in our determination to defend culture, to unite culture with the strivings of the people, to preserve and extend our democratic heritage, to assist our brothers in other lands who are suffering the bestial assaults of fascism. Above all, we are united in the firm determination that world fascism, and its expression within our own land, shall never come to power in the United States." This is the determination that unites us today. It is to me a shocking and shameful fact, it is a truth not easy for an American to face, that the man who worked so hard to build up this determination and who can do so much to fortify it today is in jail in Atlanta. He was placed there unjustly and he is kept there unjustly. And even more shocking, even more shameful is the thought that there may still be American anti-fascist writers who have failed to petition President Roosevelt for Browder's release after more than a year of cruel imprisonment. It is hard to see how a writer can struggle against injustice in his books or plays at the same time that he contemplates with serenity this injustice. It is hard to see how a writer can seek to rally full strength and full unity against fascism in his works at the same time that he endures with complacency the silencing of this powerful anti-fascist voice. Only ignorance of the facts could excuse this; and for ignorance of the facts there is no excuse at this moment of our civilization's trial.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

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Latin American Liberator

BOLIVAR, *by Emil Ludwig. Alliance Book Corp. $3.50.*

"PADRE *nuestro que estas en la tierra, en el agua, en el aire. . . .*" With such an apotheosis—almost in the words of the Lord's Prayer—does Pablo Naruda begin a recent poem on Simon Bolivar. For to the peoples of Latin America, Bolivar is not merely the great symbol of democracy and freedom (such as our own George Washington whose counterpart he was), but a symbol often invoked in the sense of imminent presence, and with a fervor that seems strange to our ears.

Mr. Ludwig's is the latest of several recent biographies. Though in the nature of a commission from the Venezuelan government, it is by no means the most complete study available. Working largely from the mass of Bolivar correspondence, Mr. Ludwig has contented himself with psychologizing on that terrible conflict between democratic ideals and frequent dictatorial practice in whose grip the Liberator struggled all his life.

The author suggests, though I think insufficiently, some of the roots of that conflict —the backwardness of the Indian and *mestizo* masses, the fact that they felt toward the native-born Creoles as much distrust as toward the Spanish crown, the ways in which a just struggle for national liberation was conditioned by the fluctuating fortunes of the Napoleonic wars. Operating in such a milieu, is it any wonder that Bolivar's applications of French and American revolutionary theory were often blunted and distorted? That the same man who freed the slaves of his land long before our own Emancipation Proclamation, later limited the suffrage to thirty percent of the population? That the same breath said: "It is impossible to hold back the progress of the human race. . . ." And later cried out in despair: "All those who have served the Revolution have ploughed in the sea. . . ."?

For his visions, like his military feats, were colossal—a unified Columbia stretching from Atlantic to Pacific, a Pan-American congress attempted over 125 years ago. When he died of consumption at forty-seven, he was on his way to exile, and all his constructions seemed to have crumbled like the sandy castles children build by the sea. And yet his achievements, viewed over a broader span, were very real indeed—the first stage of a bourgeois-revolutionary movement that has not yet been consummated in many parts of South America.

It is the failure to understand the nature of such a movement that leads Mr. Ludwig to such unsupported assertions as this: "What hampered the whole movement from the very outset, however, was the conservatism of the colored population, who *like all slaves and semi-slaves,* preferred their old masters as safeguards of their security to the insecurity of freedom. . . ." (Italics mine.) This is the kind of bubble logic blown up by our own Civil War historians and so completely exploded today by men like Herbert Aptheker and others. As a matter of fact, the rich white Creoles could never have won their freedom without the coming over to their banner of the Indian and colored *llaneros* under Paez, a *mestizo* himself. That was the decisive turning-point of the struggle and acknowledged as such by Bolivar. And has Mr. Ludwig forgotten that the very arms and equipment for the third expedition were furnished by the Jewish merchant Brion and the Negro President of Haiti, Alexandre Petion, whose price of assistance was Bolivar's promise of Negro emancipation? And that the tide turned *after* that?

Again, it is true enough, as Mr. Ludwig says, that here as in the cases of Washington and Mirabeau a man of high birth placed himself at the head of an oppressed people. But it is not true that the Creoles won their fight against the "apathy" of the masses. The character of the liberation movement as a People's War was not altered by the fact that those who helped fight it—like the French proletarians—were later, as Samuel Putnam has said, cheated of the fruits of their own labors.

He was like some tropic bird of plumage, this Bolivar with his gaunt face and flamboyant utterances. The word "glory" was often on his lips. And there can be no doubt that the blinding lights and prophetic clarities that so often flashed from his despair were born of a desire to be judged well by posterity; that, if nothing more, enabled him to transcend the limits of his class.

SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

Feuchtwanger's Trilogy

JOSEPHUS AND THE EMPEROR, *by Lion Feuchtwanger. Viking. $2.75.*

THE romantic biography of the first century historian from Judaea, begun by Lion Feuchtwanger in *Josephus* and continued in *The Jew of Rome,* is concluded in *Josephus and the Emperor.* The final volume of the trilogy ends on the note that in times of great conflict each man must choose his side, if not because of his own decision, then because of the impact of history itself.

The great conflict, brewing but not fought out in the lifetime of Josephus, was the conflict between imperial Rome and her oppressed peoples and classes. Italian, Jew, slave, and barbarian out on the empire's fringe—each alike met in his assigned way the monstrous fiscal demands of the Roman government or bled for his resistance. Yet each in his own way resisted. The slave at the workbench labored with determined, rebellious incompetence. The barbarian, settled on land just within the Roman borders, renewed contact with his fiercer cousins beyond the Rhine and the Danube. Italian aristocrats, stripped of power by the emperors, and proletarians, subsisting upon the dole, met treasonably together in the secret Christian sect which declared that not even the Roman among earthly

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governments existed by divine sanction. And the Jew, smarting under the poll-tax in Judaea, again and again took up arms against the apparently invincible legions of Rome.

The full scope of this conflict was not apparent to Josephus. It was not evident to him or any man then living that the great slave state, at its apex, was beset by the conditions that would cause its decline. What Josephus saw was for him a frightening spectacle, of his stiff-necked people provoking the Romans repeatedly to acts of bloodshed and oppression. And because he saw nothing more than this, he was tormented all his life by the problem of whether it is better to die for freedom or survive tyranny. The solution of the problem in Josephus' later life is the subject of the final volume of the trilogy.

AS AN AGING man Josephus came reluctantly to the realization that it was not possible for him to support both his own people and his people's enemy. He was forced to admit the vanity of his old dream of being at the same time a Jew and a Roman gentleman, Joseph ben Matthias and Flavius Josephus. In his youth the compromise had seemed feasible and not dishonorable. He had exhorted the Jews not to rise up under the rebel leaders, and the Emperors Vespasian and Titus had rewarded him generously for his service. They had even granted him an estate in his conquered native land. But presently Titus, who knew the value of appeasement and of lulling the conscience of an appeaser, was succeeded by the openly anti-Semitic Domitian.

Perhaps Domitian was more inherently vicious than his predecessors, or perhaps Josephus, discredited now among the Judaeans could no longer be of use in averting revolt. At any rate, the emperor amused himself by exposing to the ridicule of the court the Jew who had taken himself seriously as a Roman knight. He ignored the appearance of *The Universal History,* and there was not a person in Rome who dared praise the aged Josephus' life work. He ignored the appearance of the *Apion,* wherein Josephus with belated anger wrote proudly of his people, and it suffered a similar fate. He ignored the petitions of Josephus' friends at court, among them the Empress Lucia, and Josephus himself passed into obscurity. The palace plot which resulted in the assassination of Domitian did not restore Josephus to favor. But Josephus was old now and undeceived, and the favors of the Romans no longer concerned him. It was the favor of his own people which he coveted most. This he never received. For it was not to him but to the tried rebel leaders that the Judaeans looked for deliverance. His return to his people had come too late to be a political event; it was a personal solution. The old man slipped, unhailed, into the ranks of the insurgents and died an unrecorded death.

Josephus and the Emperor is entertaining biographical romance. Its style is agile; its pace rapid; and its characters, the most important figures of their age, glamorously treated. Feuchtwanger has competently achieved what he set out to do. It is difficult not to wish, however, that this democratic thinker and accomplished writer had set out to produce a serious historical novel of the saga type. For the life of Josephus, extending as it does through the reigns of five emperors, warrants such treatment. Writing from the point of view of history instead of romance, Feuchtwanger would have been able to people his book with Jewish and Roman people rather than with Jewish and Roman personages; he would have been able to show the great conflict between the forces of freedom and tyranny as it was determined in the streets of Rome and the farms of Judaea rather than as it was reflected in kisses and murders in the boudoir of the Emperor; he would have been able to concern himself less with the reservations of Josephus and more with the unreserved commitment of the Jewish people to the struggle against oppression.

JULIET FARRELL.

Untrained Artists

THEY TAUGHT THEMSELVES, *by Sidney Janis. The Dial Press. $3.50.*

THIS is a collection of human interest stories concerning men and women who, without training, used painting as a means for self-expression. The paintings described in *They Taught Themselves* are documents of the human striving after ordered beauty. They also testify to the waste of talent in American society. Had some of these artists been given an early opportunity to learn more about technique and the history of art, there is no doubt that American painting would have been enriched. The work of John Kane is especially significant in this connection. His "primitivism," one feels, is a kind of unfulfillment. It reveals a great artistic power frustrated through lack of sympathetic teaching and encouragement.

This, however, is not the author's viewpoint. On the contrary, he attempts to make a case for the self-taught artist on the basis of his isolation from all organized art influence. Roger Fry once wrote, "With the new indifference to representation, we have become less interested in skill and not at all

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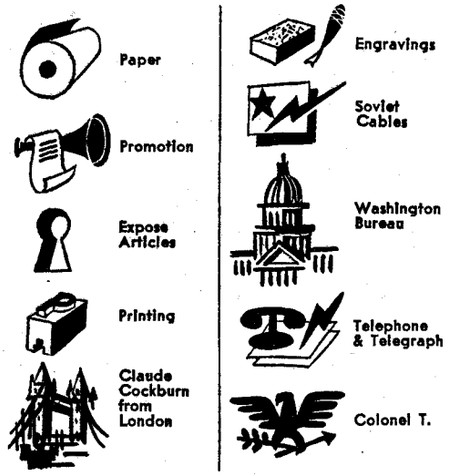

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interested in knowledge." The attitude toward art revealed in *They Taught Themselves* is in the tradition of that statement. But progress in art and art appreciation, as in the world at large, is determined by science, skill, and knowledge. The paintings of untutored artists must be understood for what they are, even though at times they appear to be the result of conscious and informed design.

In this book Henri Rousseau is made to function as founder and arbiter of the taste for "primitive-popular" painting. To consider Rousseau as a self-taught artist in the manner of the persons described by Mr. Janis is to misunderstand the problem. Rousseau was very conscious of tradition and really believed that his pictures were as true to nature as the work of the museum painters he admired. In this respect he was in conflict with the men who first "discovered" him, for it was their opposition to the museum painters which brought them to his door. To use a misconception of Rousseau as a standard of excellence for the esthetic of our own time is a dangerous kind of academicism which, despite its surface concern for "people's art," is in reality a denial of progress.

GEORGE MILLER.

The Romantic View

WOMEN IN CYCLES OF CULTURE, *by Anna De Koven. Putnam's. $3.50.*

THIS book is an attempt to trace the influence of women upon the development of history and culture. It deals with the life of European courts from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, and describes the intrigues and amours of such women as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici, and Madame de Sevigne.

According to Mrs. De Koven, woman's influence on the course of history is first of all due to the unattainable place she holds in the dreams of chivalry, the ideal of the troubadors, which later developed into the concept of Platonic love as applied to man and woman —the conquest of soul over flesh. To the extent to which this concept is accepted, to that extent is woman's influence great. But Mrs. De Koven's theory is abstract and her rhapsodic writing does not help to clarify the pattern.

Women have always influenced history and culture, but the nature of their influence rests firmly on the economic and social structure of their time. The author ignores this fact. One century seems like another. Moreover, Mrs. De Koven asserts that the creative mind is universally masculine (with the rarest exceptions). The fact that until the present century, the great majority of women have been enslaved or bound by their economic and social status (and often still are, for that matter), is not mentioned.

The women of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are glossed over in the epilogue; the latter century, in all countries but France, is characterized as too impressed with industrial objectives. The difference between women's position in feudal and bourgeois society is not mentioned. Instead we are given a personal but none too vivid story of a group of women, with the theory that history is made at night, and that the court or salon is the fount of culture.

NANCY CARDOZO.

Brief Reviews

HOME IS HERE, *by Sidney Meller. The Macmillan Co. $2.50.*

It is too bad Mr. Meller could not have begun his book somewhere past the first fifty pages, for when he brings Alano Dorelli to the Telegraph Hill district of San Francisco in 1907 and settles him among the Italian and Irish people of the community, the author is decidedly just warming up. As much cannot be said for the reader. However, once Alano's brave, intelligent, and spirited wife, Lucia, and her four children are transposed from Italy to Alano's side, in a house of his own construction, well, things look up. The picture one gets of the family life of these immigrants is warm and human, and ripe with authenticity; the same goes for the portrayal of the whole colony on Telegraph Hill. Matters are even brighter when Lucia becomes locked in struggle with a sandstone merchant who threatens literally to blast her home from under her; she rallies the whole community into a defense of their human rights as against the merchant's property rights—and she does it with all the tenacity and ingenuity so typical of the oppressed who have built America and defended its traditions.

Mr. Meller does not quite succeed in investing this struggle with the importance, the weight it should have, and one must put this down to the fault of a rather slow prose and a reluctance on his part to lend passion to his convictions. But he has tried hard—and he has succeeded in more things than he has failed in.

THE PINK EGG, *by Polly Boyden. Pamet Press. $2.*

The Pink Egg is a story of social struggle dipped in whimsy and decked in feathers, but it does not fly. Mrs. Boyden has translated the earth of human beings into the air of birds. She has invested her winged conceptions with the interests and conflicts, material and psychological, of man. Her birds work in factories, have schools, libraries and jails, eat canned food, ask each other in for tea and wine, and sentimentalize sex, family, and friendships. The result is that we have neither bird nor man, but a hybrid reconstruction whose vicissitudes and triumphs can arouse in the reader scarcely more emotional response than the restatement of an idea with which he wholeheartedly agrees or disagrees.

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BEFORE THE TALKIES

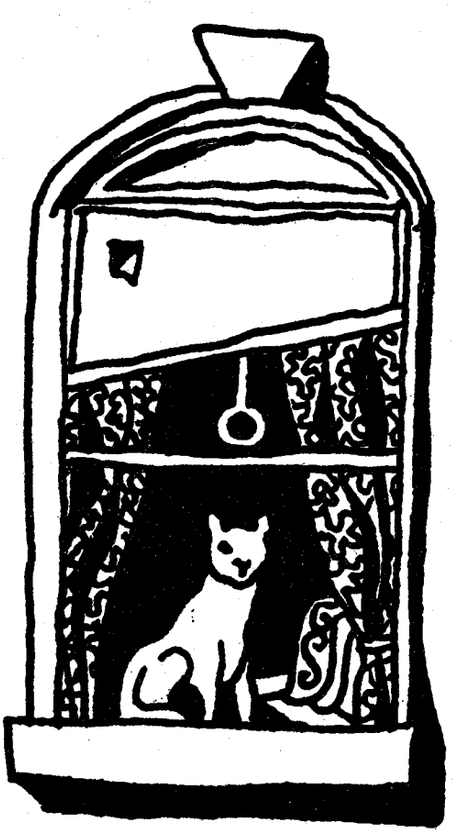
Revival of Charlie Chaplin's "Gold Rush" recalls the days when the camera did the speaking. "Naturalism" versus imaginative film technique. A discussion by Joy Davidman.

IT IS usually assumed that contemporary films are enormously superior to the old silent pictures. Certainly there are significant improvements in style; the violent pantomime necessary in the silent film, for instance, has been replaced by an unobtrusive naturalism of acting. Makeup is far less crude, plotting and motivation far less obvious, tempo far less jerky. Innumerable technical tricks contribute to the modern film's slickness; photography is delicately blurred and softened, studio lighting and decoration have been brought to fantastic refinement, montages and special effects are scattered broadcast. The change from *Hearts and Flowers* on a battered piano to the specially composed score of today's film is particularly important. And when we see revivals of old pictures, they seem cruder than they are because of the wear and tear on the actual print itself.

So the reissuing of *The Gold Rush,* with sound unobtrusively added by Mr. Chaplin, comes as a revelation. Only the slightest face-lifting, and this old masterpiece compares favorably with this year's best product. It is true that *The Gold Rush,* being a fanatstic farce, makes the most of its defects—wild pantomimic gestures are in order, where in a serious film they would be intolerable. But *The Gold Rush* emphasizes, by its excellence, the great defect of many talking pictures. For the Chaplin film uses the camera to tell a story, whereas in the average modern film the story is told by actors to the camera.

Deprived of dialogue, the cameramen of silent-picture days were forced to explore every possibility of their medium. The narration was actually done by the camera; satirical comment on the characters was made not by a spoken wisecrack but by a revealing shot—as in *The Gold Rush sequence* where Charlie pretends to a pugnacity he doesn't possess. These old films were not written by playwrights and novelists, but, often, by men who actually thought with a lens as an artist thinks with his brush. The talking picture changed all that. How static and verbose the first talkies were is a byword; in the years since their invention, camera technique has been laboriously rediscovered, and such directors as John Ford have carried it to new heights. Nevertheless, the average Hollywood film is loaded with a superabundance of jabber, especially when it is taken from a Broadway play. For example, the recent *Male Animal* contained many sequences in which characters actually stood almost motionless and talked at great length; almost every laugh in the typical farce *My Favorite Blonde* depended on a funny line; and even the superb *Little Foxes* remained, technically, little more than a play photographed by a camera sitting in the first row of the orchestra.

The Gold Rush is an illuminating commentary on this unimaginative approach to the film as a medium—an approach which completely overlooks the fact that the camera is a new art form in itself, not just a device for the translation of the art of writing into other terms. Chaplin has added a few sound effects; when a house sways on the edge of a precipice it now creaks, and when Charlie strains his wistful ears toward the distant dance-hall he can hear the music. There is an amusing musical score to point up the action. There is a thread of narration, no more than a replacement of essential subtitles, and an occasional line of dialogue. Yet the original *Gold Rush* speaks for itself. Its serio-comic tale of how the funny little guy discovers a gold mine and wins his glittering, scornful lady is perfectly clear, and astonishingly moving, without the spoken word. When Charlie marches serenely along the perilous edge of vast glaciers, the action gags are sufficient in themselves; when, his lady just left, he goes into transports of joy at her visit, you need no translation of his feelings. And when she returns for her gloves and catches him doing foolish somesaults on the floor, only the most literal mind could want the perfect moment heightened by needless questions and answers about gloves.



Foster

The film's photography, similarly, points up many of today's abuses of that art. The heroine of *The Gold Rush* is not particularly glamorous by our standards; her flesh is not turned into luminous sugar-candy by trick lights and gauze-veiled lenses, her hair is not powdered with gold, the camera does not slide lingeringly over salient parts of her anatomy. She is merely photographed, quite clearly and simply, when the action demands that she be photographed. Every object in the film is sharp and clear; we realize how much we have grown accustomed to the prevailing fashion of photographing muzzily, as in a dewy fog. And when *The Gold Rush* is through with one episode, it marches without circumlocution toward the next, assuming that an audience of normal intelligence will be able to bridge the gap for itself. This respect for the audience is also characteristic of Soviet and pre-Vichy French films.

This is not to say that *The Gold Rush* is preferable to a *Grapes of Wrath,* a *Confessions of a Nazi Spy,* or a *Little Foxes.* In subject matter it is a wistful, appealing, but small story; in characterization it is almost childishly simplified. But in technique it remains more effective than much of the prevailing style.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

★

THE Museum of Modern Art's recent concert of film music focused attention on something that, for most of us, ordinarily lives only in the subconscious mind. Musicians and devoted music lovers are alert to film scores, but the layman, as a rule, does not consciously hear them at all; he is not meant to. The musical score of a film exists to intensify the film's emotions or to underline its humor, and must never steal the show. There are exceptions, naturally: musical films, films which contain long sequences involving masses of people (like *Alexander Nevsky*), films which photograph machinery in rhythmic action *(Things to Come),* or nature in rhythmic action *(The River).* In general, film sequences without individual dialogue or highly personal action may bring music into the foreground. But throughout the ordinary screen-

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play, the score must be secondary. Most people, indeed, never noticed the long evolution from sentimental pieces played on a sickly piano to the coherent and carefully planned music which accompanies a great many contemporary films.

This evolution was a painful process, however, and is not yet quite complete. The practice of lifting a chunk out of a symphony and bolstering a B picture with the "three B's" is still far too common, and many will remember with horror how *Maytime* rewrote Tschaikowsky's Fifth into an opera for the lamentable yawping of Eddy and MacDonald. Films still appear which ooze with *Just a Song at Twilight;* directors still accompany their heroine's tears with drooling violins. And even among those who compose specific music to illustrate specific films, the problems of the medium are not always completely understood.

Aaron Copland, in his commentary on the Museum's concert, brought out that film music must be composed according to standards of its own; quite different standards from those which govern a symphony, for the symphony is meant to be listened to in detail. It has its own internal logic of structure; flute answers oboe, kettledrum contrasts with violin, themes develop and interweave in complicated patterns. But film music, if properly written, is inseparable from the photographic sequence which it illustrates, and its structure is that of the film. In consequence, the movie score must be a single, simple line of commentary or contrast with the film. When it becomes complex its function is destroyed. The straightforward statement of themes with a few instruments does the film more service than would the Philharmonic.

Mr. Copland's own score for *Of Mice and Men* was the best film music on the Museum's program, with its simple and skillfully repeated rhythmic and melodic patterns, almost primitive in their avoidance of unnecessary "development sections." Clear, unpretentiously orchestrated, the Copland score contrasted vividly with Erich Wolfgang Korngold's *Juarez* music. This latter, overwritten and overscored with the pedantry of the conventional German school, sounded like so much mush. By an unhappy fatality, moreover, it stressed everything that was weak or shoddy in the script and the direction of the film. Other compositions included Janssen's music for *The General Died at Dawn,* dramatic, but somewhat too quaintly Chinese; Bernard Herrmann's biting satire on grand opera from *Citizen Kane*—a superb illustration of the humorous possibilities of the film score; powerful work by Ernst Toch from *Ladies in Retirement* (horror films frequently get the best scores); and rather limp stuff by Antheil and Gruenberg. Newman and Steiner, two of Hollywood's clearest and most effective composers, were unfortunately unobtainable. This was a serious omission; modern film music dates, approximately, from Max Steiner's iconoclastic scores for John Ford's *Lost Patrol* and *The Informer.*

The material at hand, however, was ample to show the needs and values of this branch of composition. It may come as a blow to many film producers to learn that four horns are better than 400, but the film composers are finding it out, and we may look forward to admirable scores based on nothing more than, say, two clarinets, a cello, and a drum. There is a danger in the use of the solo instrument, of course—it makes the audience expect a solo performer. The solo piano is almost never used in film scores, no doubt for this reason; you expect to see someone playing it, and are distracted when you don't. Other solo instruments, however, are more anonymous, and their possibilities may well be exploited; in film music, even more than in most arts, it's hard to have too much simplicity.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Hasty Corn Pudding

Playwright Emlyn Williams disappoints with "Yesterday's Magic."

"YESTERDAY'S MAGIC" is the magic of the theater, as seen through the rheumy eyes of an aging and dipsomaniac performer. In his new play Emlyn Williams has knocked together a hasty pudding that drips treacle at the edges. It is really incredible what the talented and progressive author of *The Corn Is Green* has done this time. Not content with the ancient actor who, after his decline from fame, has drunk himself into a stumble-bum, the playwright provides that actor with a crippled daughter who is his housekeeper, his manager, his mother. Not content with that, he arranges the old actor's return to fame, as a star playing King Lear. Not content with *that,* he has the actor discover that he is the only person responsible for his daughter's deformity, forget his lines, get drunk on the opening night, and make his final exit via the window. Crash.

So bad a play gives Paul Muni an opportunity to do his worst acting this side of the cinema. Make no mistake about it, Mr. Muni has considerable talent, but he has now become so facile (and so stereotyped) that you can practically see him making up his mind which performance to turn on this time. Shall it be A-1, B-2, or C-3? This time it was Z-5. He wallowed in every theatrical cliche astute directors have previously prevented him from utilizing. He wept and sniffled and was brave and heroic with a toss of the shock-wig, and occasionally he was actually credible for moments at a time. As his crippled daughter, Jessica Tandy possessed real charm and taste in an almost impossible role. There was an ingenious comedy performance by Brenda Forbes as a Cockney landlady, and an amusing one by Cathleen Cordell as a blousy blonde. But all in all *Yesterday's Magic* (formerly known as *The Light of Heart)* is no tribute to the indisputable glamour of the stage. It was the corn—not green, just corn. A. B.

New Recordings

A listing of "very good," "excellent," and "must" discs.

HERE is a list of recommended recordings released since the beginning of the year. Some have been reviewed at length in NEW MASSES—the others will receive a brief comment and a rating in this article. The releases have been voluminous and we must content ourselves with a limited list of preferred choices, omitting those on which we have reservations either as to performance or mechanical quality. A recording designated with one asterisk (*) should be regarded as "very good" and two asterisks (**) will indicate "excellent." The few recommendations receiving three askerisks (***) are "musts" for your record library.

** *Brahms' Trio for Violin, Piano, and Cello.* Heifetz, Rubinstein, and Feuermann. Chamber music, youthful and exuberant in spirit, played in perfect ensemble by three distinguished solo artists. (Victory $4.50)

** *Dukas' "The Sorcerer's Apprentice."* Minneapolis Orchestra, Mitropoulos conducting. A superb reading of brilliantly descriptive and sardonic music. (Columbia $2.50)

* *Schubert's Symphony No. 1 ("Unfinished").* All American Orchestra, Stokowski conducting. Would rate two stars were it not for Stokowski's unwarranted striving for effects not found in the score. (Columbia $3.50)

* *Moussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition."* Brailowsky, pianist. First piano recording of a familiar colorful composition, more frequently heard in orchestral versions. Played with delicate shading and exquisite tone. (Victor $4.50)

*** *Shostakovich's Symphony No. 6.* Philadelphia Orchestra, Stokowski conducting. Definitely a "must." Reviewed at length in NEW MASSES. (Victor $5)

*** *Shostakovich's Piano Quintet.* Stuyvesant String Quartet and Vivian Rivkin, pianist. Same comment as preceding paragraph. Also reviewed in NEW MASSES. (Columbia $4.50)

* *Flamenco Music.* Villarino, guitar and

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* *Rachmaninoff's Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini.* Moiseivitch, pianist, and London Philharmonic Orchestra, Cameron conducting. Wholly fresh variations on a familiar and favorite melody of violin virtuosi—the 24th Paganini Caprice. Invested with vitality by soloist and orchestra. (Victor $3.50)

*** *Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 ("Emperor").* Serkin and Philharmonic Orchestra. An outstanding recent recording. Inspired playing by the noted piano virtuoso with magnificent orchestral support. (Columbia $5.50)

** *Folk Songs of USSR.* These records express the color and pulsing life of a fighting nation and are presented with considerable feeling and charm by soloists and Red Army Chorus. A worthy successor to the previous album of "Red Army Songs." (Keynote $2.50)

** *Beethoven's Sonata No. 9 ("Kreutzer").* Serkin, pianist, and Busch, violinist. This impassioned composition demands a degree of skill and intelligence that the artists are more than equal to. (Columbia $4.50)

* *Sibelius' Symphony No. 1.* Philadelphia Orchestra, Ormandy conducting. Orthodox music afforded sensitive and intelligent treatment by orchestra and conductor. (Victor $4.50)

*** *Brahms' Symphony No. 1.* NBC Symphony Orchestra, Toscanini conducting. Magnificent interpretation by the "maestro" of a truly majestic work with outstanding playing by the orchestra. (Victor $5.50)

** *Dubussy's "Iberia."* Pittsburgh Orchestra, Reiner conducting. Brilliant evocation of Spain and its colorful folk music played with skill and a wealth of tonal detail. (Columbia $3.50)

** *Brahms' Tragic Overture.* Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Stock conducting. A performance of terseness and precision, tempered by a rich full-bodied orchestral tone. (Columbia $2.50)

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** *Brahms' Songs.* Marion Anderson with obbligato by William Primrose, violist, and accompanied by Franz Rupp, pianist. The distinguished contralto attains an unusually high artistic level with the aid of remarkable playing by the instrumentalists. (Victor $2.50)

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April

30—Kings Highway Forum, Joshua Kunitz on "Our Ally—The Soviet Union," Kingsway Mansion, E. 16 St. & Ave. P, Brooklyn, N. Y.

30—May Day Rally, Sam Darcy, Bruce Minton, etc., National Press Aud. 14th & F Sts., Washington, D. C.

May

1—May Day Win the War Committee of Baltimore, Rally, Gurley Flynn, Bart Schelling, Polish Hall, 510 S. Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

1—Rallies in New York, Gil Green and others, Manhattan Center, Manhattan; Ford, Novick, etc., Bronx Winter Garden, 1874 Washington Ave., Bronx; Amter, Cacchione, Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette & Atlantic Aves., Brooklyn; Max Weiss, Paul Crosbie, others, Woodside Labor Temple, 4132 58th St., Woodside, L. I.

1-9—Russian War Relief, Exhibition and Sale, Contemporary American Artists, Seligman Galleries, 15 E. 57th St., N. Y.

2—Allaben Acres, Reunion & Dance, Geo. Washington Hotel, 23rd & Lexington.

2—McNamara Branch I.W.O., Schappes defense party, Almanacs, Schappes, etc., 1190 St. Johns Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.

2—Communist Party of W. Philadelphia, May Day Celebration, 810 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.

2—Saturday Forum Luncheon Group, "Public Opinion in Democracy," Dr. Clyde Miller, Columbia, Prof. Myers, N. Y. U., chairman, Rogers Cor. Rest't, 8 Av. & 50 St., 12:30 P.M.

3—Rally for Victory in 1942. Joseph Curran, Capt. Sergei Kournachoff, Dr. Harry F. Ward, others. Manhattan Center, 2:30 P.M.

3—Workers School Forum, Simon Gerson, News Analysis of the Week, 35 East 12th St.

7—Russian War Relief, Samuel Matalowsky, Pianist-Composer Concert, original music and classics, Theresa Kaufmann Auditorium, Y. M. H. A., 92nd St., and Lexington Ave.

7—Bronx 8th Assembly District Forum, "The 5th Column and the Coming Offensive," Joseph North, Joseph Starobin, Alvah Bessie, Benefit New Masses, Concourse Paradise, 2143 Grand Concourse, Bronx, N. Y.

8—League of American Writers, Friday Night Readings, Ruth Jerusalem, Exiled German Writer, Anti-Fascist migrations, Maxim Lieber, Max Schroeder, commentators, 237 East 61st, 8:30 P.M.

9—Spanish Committee for Medical Aid to Russia, Ball, Irving Plaza, Siboney Caribbean Orchestra, Irving Place & 15th St.

10—Russian War Relief, recital, "Music at Work," supervision Marc Blitzstein, Alvin Theatre, W. 52nd St.

16—Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, celebration, on Earl Browder's 51st birthday to speed his freedom, Madison Square Garden.

June

22—American Council on Soviet Relations, Celebration First Anniversary Soviet Union's great battle against the Nazi invaders. Place to be announced.

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WE ARE a very quizzical people; the streak of Baby-Snooksism in Americans has only lately swamped the radio, but it has dwelt in parlors and spelling bees ever since Mr. Washington asked the $64 question of his boy, George. George, it turned out, was the first Quiz Kid.

Ever since then we have been scratching our polls on all sorts of catechisms and conundrums designed to confound the scholarly, flatter the dull, record the political pulse, and vend ginger ale. However goofy the form our national curiosity takes, it is a rosy-cheeked evidence that we have a democracy, and a very lively one that wants to know more about everything. The right to ask questions is an invisible amendment to the Constitution; and woe to the lug who tries to repeal it.

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